South America Today

Social and Religious Movement
as observed on a trip to the
Southern Continent in 1921

SAMUEL GUY INMAN
Executive Secretary
Committee on Cooperation in Latin America

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25 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK

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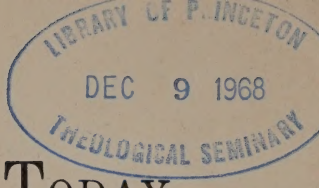

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INTRODUCTION

Political revolution in South America is being succeeded by social revolution. This outstanding impression is being borne in upon a present day visitor to that great continent in whatever direction he may turn. Social revloution is expressed in four marked movements, which are ushering in the break from that conservatism of the past, which even yesterday seemed destined to preserve for many years its strong hold. These movements which overlap one another and receive aid from many other less prominent influences are the labor movement, the feminist movement, the temperance movement and the movement for modernizing education.

I do not wish to give the impression that these new movements have become predominant in the social life of South America. The old conservative customs and modes of thought that have prevailed for centuries cannot be thrown off in a few years. It will be a long time before the great inertia of the masses and the strongly organized opposition can be overcome. But certainly all these movements will rapidly take on force, and the opportunity to guide them to a right, instead of a wrong, use presents a great challenge to the friends of South America.

In calling attention to their developments, my purpose is not by any means to treat them exhaustively. I desire simply to bring to my readers a few facts and experiences of my trip to South America from March to July of 1921, with the hope that they will impress all interested, as they have me, with the rapidly changing conditions in South America. Most of my readers will be those particularly interested in the religious progress of the Southern continent. Believing, as I do, that these social problems are intimately bound up with the religious situation, it has seemed to me that it would be more helpful at this time to direct attention to the general situation, than to give a survey of Christian work such as has been published following other visits.

I.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The new labor movement is the most astounding of all the remarkable social influences now so rapidly transforming South America. The pitiable condition of labor in the past in Latin America is generally well known and need not be treated here. The two words used to describe the laborer are sufficient to indicate his state, "peon," denoting a financial obligation to an employer not possible to shake loose, and "roto," a broken, ragged fellow. Historically, these conditions were established when the Spanish hidalgos were given grants of land and allowed to force the Indians to labor for them. Country labor was always kept in debt and town labor consisted largely of the personal servants of rich families. Such public work as was carried on was generally done by prisoners. The relationship between "amo" and "peon" was more or less patriarchal. No such thing as "labor unrest" was ever heard of. Even today in many a country or great region of Latin America the laborer, even when his material state leaves much to be desired from a sanitary or progressive viewpoint, appears to be unaware that there is anything wrong; I have seen the Indian living under conditions into which comfort apparently rarely entered, under which he never owned anything but the barest hut for shelter and the poorest rags as clothes and, with his food limited to the scantest dishes both in quantity and variety, had no perceptible pleasure in life except when he took some strong alcoholic drink at a "fiesta." But unrest there was none, since the idea of social revolt and of the securing of better conditions through revolt was absent. But sooner or later the industrial age had to invade Latin America. The personal relationship between employer and employee were severed. Workmen began to come together in large numbers in cities where they saw a new life, and began to hear of the outside world and its economic problems. When workmen first heard of the strike as practised by their brothers in Europe and North America, and essayed to invoke it, they were met with a show of military force and compelled to desist. A strike was a revolution. Even when the government did not

drive them back to work, they had no idea of sticking to their demands until favorable action was forced.

It was often amusing to read the manifestos which they issued as they returned to their jobs, expressing their satisfaction that they had publicly protested against a certain injustice, and thus had saved their "dignidad." Evidently, they considered their dignity as much more important than the still unsettled injustice, against which they struck. Strangely enough, the cause, not only of these first strikes, but even of some of the most important and far-reaching recent labor struggles, has not been economic but personal. With the individualistic Latin hours and wages are not as important as are questions of the discharge of friends or the employment of enemies.

The awakening of the workingman has not been equally marked in all countries of South America. Labor in the tropical part of the continent is still far from any idea of organization for the purpose of forcing better conditions. In countries like Peru, where labor is almost entirely Indian, peonage is still largely the rule. There was a recent uprising of Indian miners, but they were soon forced back to their work. One hears about labor organizations in certain industrial centers near Lima, and in the petroleum, sugar and mining districts. But when investigation is made, it is found that these are merely mutual societies, in which the workmen are associated for insurance and social purposes, but do not pretend to work for better contracts with their employers. A more pessimistic group can hardly be found. They are tired of following political revolutionists who promise everything before getting a position, but forget all when victorious. They realize full well that they are powerless before the combination of owner, priest and government. The only friends they seem to recognize are the students of the University, who are doing really sacrifical work in teaching night classes attended by hundreds of working people in and around the capital.

Faint signs of an approaching awakening are seen however in the little sheets which these organizations are publishing. The following, translated freely from some of the pitiable little labor papers purchased at a newsstand in Lima, show their keen desire for a deliverance of which they have heard something but understand nothing.

"Listen, Brother to my notes of red with which my song is vibrating, I sing to life,—death to death! I go planting roses made of love and truth. Anarchism is my liberating thought. I am the Word which rises in humanity's darkest night and scatters all its pain. Lister, Sister, it is time to rise and greet the morning light which kisses our darkest suffering!

"Arise! all the poor of the Universe! Stand! Slaves without bread! Shout, all together! Long live 'la Internacional!' Away with all the impediments that block the proletariat from the enjoyment of our riches! Down with the parasites of labor, Long live 'la Internacional!' "

Far different from these incoherent cries, heard in the night in Peru, are the strong voices in some of the other countries threateningly demanding new rights and privileges. In the past year, in the more progressive South American countries the working class has passed definitely from the status of an inert mass of humanity, to be bought as cheaply as possible by foreign and domestic capitalists, and has become a class-conscious body of workingmen, a political force to be reckoned with.

There has been a welter of strikes on every hand, accompanied usually by violence and stressing the recognition of the union to a greater extent than more money or shorter hours. The cost of living has been a source of discontent everywhere. For the South American countries no reliable index numbers exist, but price levels, in a number of countries, are probably slightly above those in the United States. Depreciated currency, fluctuating exchange values and the refusal of the propertied classes to pay their fair share of the taxes have increased the pressure even more. In Paraguay even the storekeepers shut up shop and joined the ranks of the strikers. South America has a large floating population of workers, many of whom, before the war, came and went between Europe and the East Coast countries in a regular seasonal flux. The governments, particularly in Argentina and Brazil, have arrested literally hundreds of suspected foreigner leaders, usually Spaniards or Russians, deporting or holding them indefinitely in jail. None of these leaders, however, has become an outstanding figure to which a personality or even a name can be attached. Their success must have been due in large part to a discontent lying everywhere close to the surface, which flared up in the wheatfields and

the back reaches of the quebracho forests as easily as along the crowded waterfronts of the cities.

Argentina

Argentina has been the center of the strongest radical influence. Not only the workmen but the students and professors of the universities seem to have largely gone over to the soviet position. The most important labor organization of the country is the "Federación Obrera Regional Argentina," or as it is popularly known by its initials, The "F. O. R. A." Dr. Alfredo Palacios, professor of sociology in the University of Buenos Aires, in an address before the university has given a full account of this remarkable organization, which now has some 300,000 members. The following facts about the organization are taken from that lecture:

The investigation of the organization of the F. O. R. A. affords a real surprise to those who have claimed that the labor movement in Argentina is purely a matter of professional agitators. The F. O. R. A. was organized on the 25th of May, 1901. In 1915 there were 51 federations in its membership, with $20,521 collected as dues. In 1919 there were 530 federations, whose membership amounted to over 300,000 and paid in as dues the sum of $488,549. At the beginning of the organization in 1905 it was decided to propagate anarchical communism. The following resolution was passed: "The Fifth Congress of the F. O. R. A., recognizing the philosophical principles which have been the basis for the organization of workmen's federations, declares: It approves and recommends to all its adherents the inculcation among the workmen of the philosophical and economic doctrine of anarchical communism. This education prohibiting satisfaction in the mere obtaining of the rule of eight hours will complete emancipation and bring about the social evolution which is desired." The Congress of 1915, however, changed the basic rule of the organization, abandoning syndicalism. The resolution which changed the basis of the F. O. R. A. in 1915 provided that: "The F. O. R. A. will not pronounce itself officially on the side of any philosophical system or determined theories whose propaganda according to the autonomy of the individual is not directed nor limited, but on the contrary the most tolerant discussion of scientific and philosophical themes according to the different modes of thought of fed-

erated workmen is permitted. The F. O. R. A. recognizes that the present economic system is characterized by the existence of two classes, the capitalists, the possessors of the means of work, and workmen, who create social riches; that that state is a tangible and coercive expression of the social domination which capital exercises, and therefore that the federations propose to make accessible to the workmen all the scientific and social contributions toward production." The F. O. R. A. is made up only of the syndicated organizations of salaried workmen who accept the class struggle and have as their object the organization of the working classes in order to effect their moral, economic and intellectual betterment. The F. O. R. A. membership is kept from being padded by a requirement that each member of every federated organization pay a certain definite amount of dues.

The port strike of 1916 marks the definite beginning of the F. O. R. A.'s strength. The intervention of the federated societies in that strike was decisive. Inspector Nicholson points out the conditions of longshoremen in Buenos Aires as follows: "Men worked without fixed hours. The twelve hours of other times had been increased to sixteen, which in some places, as at Montevideo, was increased until men began at 4.30 a. m. and quit at 11 p. m. On the steamboats, firemen were paid 55 pesos, seamen 45, with overtime at 25 cents an hour." When the Department of Public Works offered mediation, the shipping companies rejected it, but the seamen's federation accepted. Later the arbitration of the president of the Republic, who appointed as his personal representative the chief of police of Buenos Aires, was accepted. The decision of the arbitrator gave to the workmen 90 to 95 per cent. of their demands.

The F. O. R. A. has recently occupied itself with the cost of living. Its report says that the ways to reduce the cost of living are, first, by workmen demanding the raising of their salaries, and, second, by their using every possible means to agitate this raising of salary. In the nation-wide railroad strike the F. O. R. A. also took an important part. When Buenos Aires was threatened with starvation, because of the strike, the Minister of Public Works petitioned the officials of this organization to allow food trains to be run, and this was granted under certain conditions. The F. O. R. A. thus reports the settlement of this strike, the greatest strike in

the history of the proletariat settled favorably through the workmen. It was important because of the number of workmen involved, because of the principles at stake and because of its significance in class struggle. The railroad workmen had, during the twenty-four days of the conflict, the most intense sympathy of all the working classes. They realized, in this conflict between capital and labor, that the patient work of many years given to organization was being tested and they were resolved to offer every assistance. This was not necessary, for the railroad workers co-operated closely and came out of the struggle stronger than ever. From now on the owners will feel deeply troubled by this new organization which is destined to control the railroads at no distant date.

The strike of stevedores in the northern city of Posadas in 1918 gave opportunity for the intervention of the F. O. R. A. in the district of the Alto Paraná. There the workmen are really slaves, since they can never repay the amounts that are first advanced to them on salary account. If they demand liberty, they are chastized. If they flee to the forest, they are hunted like animals. A copy of the contract with these laborers provides that: "Each *peon* who abandons work without permission of the *patron,* absenting himself from the establishment, incurs a responsibility for damages, in which case he will be considered as a fugitive and the *patron* is authorized to pursue him and to compel him to comply with his contract. If the *peon* loses his time-book, he must submit himself to the data contained in the firm's books. The *peon* must work every day that the patron designates, Sundays, holidays, or rainy days not excepted, as also he must work at night, if the inclemency of the weather has not permitted him to do so during the day. If, for lack of desire, he pretends sickness in order not to work, especially on Sunday, he will pay 50 cents a day for his meals, besides losing his salary."

In 1918, when the workmen of Posadas finally declared a strike, the F. O. R. A. sent a commissioner to study the situation, aided in the better organization of the workmen, and ultimately secured better wages and better treatment all around. After ten years of work under conditions as above described, the peons are physically deformed and their bodies wasted, according to the commissioner, who reports that it is very common for those who return from the Alto Paraná

to have tuberculosis, which progresses very rapidly and is generally without cure, causing death before the individual is 30 years of age.

The F. O. R. A. has also made interesting studies concerning the laborers on the great *estancieros* of Argentina, assisting in the organization of these workmen. Another part of their program has been the investigation of the condition of renters of country lands, where they have found great abuses. The F. O. R. A. has sustained a continuous fight against legislation unfavorable to workingmen and has advocated in season and out of season the right of labor to strike, which right is now fully recognized by the law.

Immigration

The question of immigration has attracted the attention of the organization and it has pronounced against the fomenting of an artificial immigration by "capital which considers the country as a factory." It proposes to maintain relationships with European workmen by which proper arrangements for immigration may be made. Organic relationships are maintained with the "Internacional."

The strikes referred to in this account of the F. O. R. A. are only a few of those which have caused Buenos Aires to suffer more from labor troubles in the last two years than probably any other city in the world. At certain times, all business has been suspended for days and only armed men and machine guns have been seen on the streets.

The biggest labor fight of the year in South America, and the most important one internationally, was the year-long strike of the Argentine maritime workers, the "Federación Obrera Maritima." This strike tied up completely for a whole year all the Mihanovich fleet, twenty or more ships owned by the Argentina Navigation Company. From this company the strike spread to the boats of the towing company and the ships that served the central products market of Buenos Aires. This paralyzed traffic on the River Plate between Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, and all Argentine coastal traffic. The president of Argentina charged the company with "intransigency" and the company issued in September a long defense, saying in part:

"We must place it upon record that this company has never made any question as to whether its personnel belongs or does

not belong to a trades union, and it has always selected its employees solely on their qualifications. . . . your Excellency will perceive that it would be monstrous for us to expel the present crews of the Uruguayan ships (the ships registered under the Uruguayan flag) in order to replace them by federated crews. We have no other questions at issue with our personnel on strike; no requests for higher salaries, nor any complaints as to working hours or conditions, meals, or any other point. We have borne with patience the lack of discipline on board and also the boycott against cargoes as ordained by the F. O. Maritima and as at present practiced in the port of Buenos Aires. We are aware of no other cause of conflict than those stated."

The main strike began February, 1920, though there had been trouble since the port strikes of the year before, over the refusal of the company to discharge from its shipyard workmen who continued to work during the strikes at shipyards in Buenos Aires. The struggle meant the tying up of many foreign vessels that were loading with grain for export. The government endeavored to settle the port difficulties by fiscalizing the port, taking over the boats and operating them practically as navy tugs.

But fiscalization was really a victory for the workmen. They established a practical soviet at the ports, controlled shipping conditions and levied a tax for the support of their federation on every article handled by them. The Mihanovich Company, after tying up their boats for a year, had to finally give in and accept practically all the demands of the Federation. When a difficulty arose among the crew of the United States steamer "Martha Washington," as she lay in the harbor of Buenos Aires, resulting in the discharge of several men, the Federation took up their cause with such persistency that the steamship was held in port for two months. It was only after the matter threatened a diplomatic break between the governments of the two countries that the Argentina government exercised sufficient force to compel the Federation to permit the loading and sailing of the ship.

In May of 1921 the situation reached a climax. A cordon of soldiers was thrown around the wharfs and even the captain of a ship had to have a permit in order to return from land to his ship. All foreign traffic was tied up for weeks. The writer was able to get out of the city only by taking a

river boat to Montevideo, pulling his own trunk on board, as no workmen were allowed to touch baggage. When, in desperation, the business men threatened to close all wholesale houses and the steamship agents threatened to have Buenos Aires eliminated as a port of call for their vessels, the government forced a break in the strike. Some six hundred radicals were arrested in a few days. As a protest, a strike of all affiliated unions was called, but failed to materialize. Normal conditions, after more than two years of terrific industrial war, are now gradually being restored in the city of Buenos Aires. (September, 1921.)

Another important group that shared in the general disturbance was that of the railroad workers. After several strikes an agreement was reached between the managers of all the important railway companies and the representatives of the operatives. The agreement was comprehensive, including forty articles that cover every possible question of wages and working conditions. It is the first important collective contract in the country and was signed by representatives of the two sides after twenty meetings held under the auspices of the Minister of Public Works. On the following Monday after the agreement was signed, a committee, speaking for the managements of the various roads, called on the Minister of Public Works to inform him that they had voluntarily accorded increases in wages to all employes, but more especially to the lower-paid classes, on the ground that present wages, though much above pre-war levels, could not adequately meet increased living costs. The contemplated increases would total about $10,000,000 for all companies concerned.

The strikes most interesting in their implications, perhaps, were those that took place among the agricultural workers against some of the big land companies. The agricultural strikes were accompanied by strikes among the stevedores at the grain terminals and among the railway men. They then spread to all classes of labor in the up-river and interior cities. In Rosario in the middle of March, stevedores, carters, chauffeurs, bagmen and milkmen were all out at the same time. The workers in the state oil fields at Comodore Rivadavia also went out, partly on a sympathly strike, partly for better working conditions. The Forestal Land Company's annual report describes the strike of their workers for recognition of the union:

"On December 12 a telegram was received from the workmen

at the various factories giving us twenty-four hours in which to reinstate certain men who had been dismissed. On Sunday, December 14, strikes broke out at all the factories, but it was only at Tartagal that conditions assumed a revolutionary aspect. Some damage was done to our property, and a considerable amount of logs and extract was burned. A detachment of police guards arrived upon the scene, to be reinforced later on by a considerable body of troops. Telegraph lines were cut and remained cut for a long period; a large number of our cattle were rounded up and slaughtered. The losses incurred have been written off. The strike came to an end on January 11, 1921. Since that time labor has been very unsettled throughout the Argentine, and as recently as April 21 last, sudden further trouble occurred at our Guillermina factory, when the local manager was killed by workmen."

The strike was officially ended after four weeks of negotiations and a property loss of $550,000. The company refused throughout to treat with "outside elements," but consented to the election of committees of the workingmen at each factory to treat with the local managers on all matters pertaining to wages and working conditions.

Buenos Aires, a city of more than 1,500,000 inhabitants and with more than thirty daily newspapers in many languages was recently without newspapers or even bulletins for six days, bringing back the pioneer days when the population awaited the arrival of sailing ships to learn what was going on elsewhere. The people appeared to accept the situation complacently as merely another phase of the many labor troubles which had beset the city in past months. Fifteen of the principal publishers decided to close down their plants indefinitely after the refusal of union printers to set the advertisement of a boycotted department store. The smaller papers were forced to suspend publication because they could no longer use the presses of the larger papers. Determined that they should not be the only sufferers, the publishers stopped posting news dispatches on the bulletin boards. The boards were covered with this notice: "This paper suspended indefinitely because of the united fight for liberty of the press." The strike of street car employes, which was in progress for a week, apparently caused more inconvenience than the lack of newspapers. The lack of disorder in spite of the unusual situation was very noticeable. Public officials and the newspaper publishers made a special

effort to suppress incendiary news. Business was greatly unsettled. Two hundred firms were at the same time faced with differences with their employes.

In the midst of all this disturbance, with wholesale arrests by the police and the activities of local "patriotic" societies, general elections for Congress were held in Argentina. They resulted in a very decided victory for the Radical party, whose head, Irygoyen, is now President of the Republic, with Socialists in second place. Of 150,000 straight party votes cast in the city of Buenos Aires, 55,000 were Radical, 49,000 were Socialist, and only 33,000 Progressive-Democrat, the conservative party that has ruled so long. Immediately following the elections the government raided certain suspected centers of Radical activity in Buenos Aires and the suburbs, arrested 150 "anarchists," and doubled the guards about the city, alleging that they had frustrated a communist conspiracy to set up a soviet in South America. Had they taken measures to break the river strike, they would doubtless have received more thanks from the business men of the city, and the outside world to whom they must look for financial aid.

Chile

Chile has had almost as many labor difficulties as Argentina. The development in Chile does not show, however, anything like as much foreign influence. Being on the west coast, it is more removed from Europe. Chile has always been one of the most homogeneous of Latin American lands. It has developed its own national life, which is probably more marked than that of any other country on the continent. Since the beginning of the republic there have been very few revolutions. The country has been ruled largely by an oligarchy of about a hundred families who have been both the owners of the land and the directors of the political and commercial life of the country. The Chilean "roto" has been showing a great deal of restlessness for the last decade. Many people have expected the laboring classes to lead in a revolution which would overthrow the capitalistic regime. The shedding of blood has happily been averted by a recent political uprising which is a most remarkable demonstration of the power of Latin Americans to accomplish reforms by civic means.

Due to the unsettled financial conditions throughout the world and the resulting unsteadiness of the business situation, the labor-

ing classes joined the Liberal Party in its nomination last April, of Arturo Alessandri for presidential candidate. Their platform advocated currency reform, the income tax, protection of national industries from foreign aggression, various solutions for social evils, the education of women and children, prohibition, parliamentary reforms, and the separation of Church and State. The Conservatives, made up chiefly of the landowners and property holders, fought hard to prevent the election of the Liberal candidate. After a hot contest, in which the workingmen of the large cities gave many "demonstrations" for Alessandri and made it quite evident that there would be trouble should there be an attempt to inaugurate the opposing candidate, the election of Mr. Alessandri was confirmed by Congress.

The power to awaken a popular interest in politics and draw the ardent support of his party must be attributed first of all to the personality of Alessandri himself. He is "fearless and resolute, generous and eloquent." From his first successful appearance in reform movement in Iquique, when he was chosen to lead the attempt to wipe out its local "Tammany," Mr. Alessandri has been marked for the great opportunity which now looms before him.

Of the reform in international politics for which the Chileans are calling, and which Alessandri has already promised to comply with, are the following: "Decentralization of the administrative power of the government, giving to the provinces the right to select their own officials and dispose of their public revenue; the stabilizing of exchange; the enfranchisement of women; the separation of Church and State; extending and perfecting the protection of labor; the creation of portfolios of labor and agriculture in the Cabinet; the introduction of vocational education. Alessandri believes that the European war has taught that the nations of the American continent have now one more reason to unify their effort toward progress, and to draw closer those moral and cultural ties which count even more than material intercourse.

President Alessandri is encountering great opposition from the oligarchy which has been accustomed to exploit the laboring classes and is now going as far as it dares in checking the president's proposed reforms. A test of strength between the president and the senate was made during my recent visit to Santiago. When the senate refused to approve the recommendation of one of the president's cabinet, the cabinet, following custom, resigned. The president refused to accept the resignation saying that the senate must

give a definite vote of censure before he would accept such resignations. The laboring men immediately staged a large demonstration in favor of the president, not only marching through the streets but standing before his home in relays for some two days in a continuous demonstration of friendship, while some of the party made *sortés* to the homes of certain senators which they attacked as indicative of their dissatisfaction with the senate's tying the hands of the president. The situation was very tense and if the president, who is a very popular man with the common people, had given them any encouragement whatever, they would have treated the reactionary element very roughly.

There is probably no other country in the world where the daily press is giving so much space to labor movements as in Chile at present. Most of the large dailies (and the Chilean press is particularly progressive) give a whole page to labor every day and often items under this heading are continued on other pages. Entering the country by steamer from the North, one lands in the midst of this labor trouble in cities like Iquique and Antofagasta, centers of the nitrate region. The nitrate business has gone all to pieces since the close of the war. There is a great deal of unemployment and an attempt to greatly reduce wages has been made. Some foreign agitators have come to this district to assist the laboring men in their organized protests. Strikes are the order of the day. Twelve separate walk-outs were reported in Antofogasta during my visit in June.

For two years labor troubles have been particularly keen. In Santiago and the vicinity a general strike was called in sympathy with thirty-eight striking brewery drivers. A longshoremen's strike at Valparaiso and Antofogasta tied up coastal services badly. The railroad men in the north walked out, but were given a raise in pay. The native workmen at the Braden copper mines struck for recognition of their union. It is reported that out of 6,000 men 2,000 were put on special trains and shipped half south and half north.

The strikes in the coal mines have been the most serious. The miners asked for an average increase of 40 per cent. The coal barons of Chile are barons in the feudal sense of the word, making what even North American capitalists call "unconscionable profits." The large majority of the miners live in company houses and trade at company stores. The representative of the Chilean Department of Labor who investigated conditions reported that the men made the equivalent of $1.60 to $2.20 a day. They are

paid, however, not in currency but in company values that are liquidated only about five times a year. The working day is from six to six and children of from eight to sixteen years are employed for 34 to 80 cents a day. These men asked for an eight-hour day, payments in currency, recognition of the union and better police regulations. The owners were obdurate. President Alessandri finally took the matter in hand and the question has probably been settled by this time.

Brazil

In Brazil labor disturbances have not been as general as in Argentina and Chile, but they have by no means been absent. The most violent troubles recently occurred in the State of S. Paulo . A detailed report was made at the end of last September by Police Delegate Tyrso Martins, to the Secretary of Justice and Public Safety. The document evidences much prejudice against the strikers, but contains a continuous account of those long, complicated disturbances. The document gives a resume of the disturbances which began as far back as a year ago last May. The movement was originally based, the Delegate states, "upon a genuine labor grievance, and sought an object undoubtedly reasonable," but gradually losing sight of its worthy object degenerated into grave disturbances of public order. Everything seems to have begun with a strike of part of the operatives of the Crespi cotton mill. For several days "the strikers maintained order, the police, on their part, complying scrupulously with their duty," preserving for the strikers (gravistas) their right to hold meetings, while on the other hand they guaranteed the property of the owners and the right of the non-striking employees to go on working. But soon, instigated "by a group of conscienceless anarchists" the strikers began to abandon pacific resistance, to interfere violently with the workers and even to assail the police when attempts were made to prevent street conflicts between the strikers and workers. Senhor Martins reminds the Secretary that at this point "your Excellency spontaneously offered to receive the strikers and the masters, trying to reconcile the interests of both." But efforts came to nothing. "Against the simplest preventive acts of the police, such as the arrest of hysterical persons, the operatives rushed to the doors of the police headquarters, and, insulting the authorities, loudly demanded the freedom of those whom they called their companions."

On a certain day the crowd shot at a sub-delegate of police; a violent scene took place, and in the fray one of the leaders of the strikers, who had recently been expelled from the Argentine for anarchistic propaganda, was killed. The strikers laid his death to the door of the police and on the day of his funeral a great crowd of workmen, in whose midst the coffin was carried, came to lay it at the door of the police headquarters. The mob that formed soon got out of control, began to sack property, "professional agitators inciting the workmen to 'expropriation'." Warehouses and freight cars were attacked and rioting and robbery became the order of the day. In three awful days it was reported that nearly a thousand people were killed by machine guns of the police. The Governor of the state then undertook to ameliorate conditions of the workers. He also requested the S. Paulo representatives in the Federal Congress to seek the passage of measures to remedy the evils affecting the laboring classes. An increase of wages was granted and strikers returned to work. But the spirit continued ugly. The pretext for another strike was found when a workman employed in a machinery house damaged a valuable piece of mechanism and was dismissed. His companions struck and labor in other departments was forcibly prevented. The company tried to replace the striking men with native-born Brazilians, but these were violently prevented from working. About the same time a strike began in an embroidery factory, because some of the employees refused to join the union.

This "Centro" secured the adhesion of 1,400 workers in a weav-mill of Ypirango, who, as one of their demands, requested the abrogation of the long-standing regulation that no one must smoke in the factory! The directors naturally refused and the strikers destroyed the notice exhibiting the rule in the workshops. Next the "Centro" tried to secure their principal object, the adhesion of the employees of the S. Paulo and Sorocabana railways. When, a little later, the company dismissed half a score of men, a threat of a strike was made if the company refused to take back the dismissed men. The officials then inquired of the state police whether the safety of the railroad property could be guaranteed. "From me the gentlemen received the only reply which, as Delegate of your Excellency, in a state whose progress is the pride of Brazil, I could give: 'The government of the State of S. Paulo is prepared not only to guarantee property, but to repress, at the first sign, any attempt to disturb public order!'"

Measures were at once taken; a contingent of Brazilian marines

was called and the military police guarded the railroad shops and line. The railroad company then announced that they would abide by their decision of dismissal.

To appreciate the difficult situation it should be added that one-third of the population of the State of S. Paulo are Italians, numbering one million; that there are small colonies of at least a dozen different nationalities besides the native Brazilian population, including Russians, Icelanders and Japanese; and that the state has during the last fifty years developed with extraordinary swiftness not only in her agriculture, but also manufacturing. With a proportionally vast alien population, speaking their own tongues and publishing newspapers in those tongues, S. Paulo has her problems in the midst of a wonderful material success. A really free country, conciliatory, offering a genuine welcome to newcomers, Brazil in general and S. Paulo in particular, faces the question of getting the best from the immigrant without antagonizing or coercing him.

Uruguay

Uruguay has had her share of labor troubles but has escaped some of the violence experienced by her sister republic across the river, because she has adopted liberal economic legislation. During the past several years she has made many experiments along the lines of socialism. She even passed a law providing for the payment of workmen while they were out on strike. One of her most recent pieces of legislation is a workmen's accident law, whose liberal provisions I give here as an illustration of the way that Uruguay is leading in labor legislation. The law provides that the manager of an industry or various sorts of work mentioned shall be held responsible for all accidents to workmen when on duty. Workmen suffering from accidents during work have the right to indemnity. Workmen under the present law shall not have further rights against the industrial manager than those provided by this law. Workmen who receive a salary in excess of 750 pesos a year may not obtain an indemnity rated upon a greater salary than this sum, which is fixed as the maximum for the calculation of disability pensions. To have the right to indemnification the workman must have been incapacitated for work for more than seven days. The workman shall have the right to indemnification even when the accident occurred due to his carelessness in greater or less degree, or when it is caused by chance or superior

force, unless these be outside the work itself. Beside the action against the manager, the victim of the accident, or his heirs, has the right of damages against other persons responsible for the accident. The indemnification from the third parties relieves the manager of his obligation for an equal sum. In case the accident has caused the death or permanent disability of the workman the indemnity will be paid as a pension. All contracts for work which free the manager from responsibility for accidents to workmen are null and void. In case of temporary disability the workman will be entitled to half the salary being paid him at the time of the accident (provided that his incapacity lasts over seven days), to count from the eighth day after the accident. When the disability lasts over 30 days the indemnification shall be paid from the day of the accident. In the case of permanent disability the workman shall have the right to a life pension and in the case of death to an indemnification fixed in proportion to his salary.

Paraguay

Paraguayan labor, as far as it is connected with the shipping and packing business at least, has taken its cue from Argentina and has therefore been quite arbitrary and violent. For a year Asunción was practically without passenger steamship service. One large steamship, which was about to be operated, in defiance of the labor union, was slipped out of the Asunción harbor, right under the guns of the government gun boats and sunk. The danger run by the "innocent bystander" when one of the frequent "labor riots" is staged, was brought home to the writer during a recent street car strike in Asunción. Walking with friends, as the only means of getting to a dinner party, about dusk one evening the rapid fire of something less than a thousand rifles was heard, seemingly just on the other side of the wall behind which we took protection. After five minutes the firing ceased and we went on to our friend's house. Curiously enough, the firing had appeared to be as close to them as it was to us and with great difficulty they calmed the native servants sufficiently for them to serve dinner. On returning later to the American School, the teachers were sure that it had been an attack on the school, and friends at a nearby hotel were equally sure that it was in the front *patio*. We learned finally that it was a case of a tramway full of soldiers who were fired on by strikers, and who, dismounting, had chased the strikers,

firing promiscuously into the darkness with the hopes they might hit someone—presumably a striker.

The host of the dinner party that evening, the manager of a twenty-million dollar North American packing adventure in Paraguay, which has since gone into bankruptcy, told us, among stories of other labor difficulties, about having had a beautiful yacht, built especially for the manager's inspection trips, tied up since the first week after its arrival because labor which knew nothing of the machinery, insisted on their exclusive right to run the boat.

Ecuador

Even in backward Ecuador a certain theoretic attention to industrial questions seems to be developing here and there. The following quotations from an address by a "son of the soil," before a group of intellectuals, is an interesting side-light both on the interests of the group and on the oratorical ability, not seldom found, among the less favored classes of Latin America:

"Courteously invited by the 'Sociedad Artistica e Industrial del Pichincha' to deliver this lecture, I was inclined to excuse myself, as I might have done, counseled by the belief that I have of the deficiency of my intellectual and oratorical ability but, in my anxiety to promote honorably the betterment of my country, and above all, desiring to remove baseless prejudices in respect of what has to do with certain conceptions of international economics, I did not hesitate at this moment of great universal expectation, to accept the invitation, in order to say to the great laboring masses that the hour has arrived for thinking seriously regarding the future destiny of the Ecuadorian people.

"If you consider that my ideas are merely the result of a profound conviction that both the great political and the economic evolutions are usually initiated by the popular mass, it being from their bosom whence spring the broad movements and the most transcendent reforms, I doubt not you will give your benevolent attention to the words of a son of the soil.

"There are two reasons that have had weight in impelling me to study the effects of commercial interchange between the United States and Latin America: first, the extraordinary growth which the former country's trade has achieved during the last four years, thanks to the gigantic and horrible war, and, second, the prospect

that is to be presented to the Hispano-American republics when the immense struggle shall have been ended, by whatever means.

"I do not come gentlemen, to make apology for a great people. A people that has produced liebrators like Washington, economists like Franklin, poets like Longfellow, statesmen like Jefferson and Monroe, needs not the apology that can be made for it by the most obscure of its admirers. Its apology is its history; its apology is in its works; its apology is its own greatness. I do not come, moreover, to excuse it for the mistakes it may have made in the realm of its international relations, which have hindered the loyal and sincere approximation of the Hispano-American nations to constitute the great Pan American union that should guarantee the progress and sovereignty of all the Americas. These mistakes, however hurtful to the American cause, have been recognized and chivalrously repaired, as far as possible."

The Pan American Federation of Labor, organized some three years ago, shows the endeavor of the American Federation of Labor to extend its help to the workmen of Latin America. This pan american organization has now held three important conferences, two in the United States and one in Mexico. Meeting thus in the North its influence has been limited largely to the North American continent. The American Federation of Labor has sent several deputations to South America, but I find that labor leaders in that continent are not very closely related with the leaders in the United States or Mexico. Delegates from Peru and other South American countries that have attended some of these Pan American Conferences have not been very representative of the labor organizations. The organizations in the less progressive countries, as has already been pointed out, are not yet developed to a point where they can appreciate the program of the American Federation of Labor. On the other hand, labor leaders in Argentina have no patience with the program of the federation in the United States, regarding it as entirely too conservative and accusing Mr. Gompers and his associates of being the tools of the capitalists.

If the Pan American Federation of Labor is to really become a force in South America, it will have to give a great deal more time to the cultivation of the laboring men of that continent. There is undoubtedly a large field for the American Federation in helping the workmen of less advanced countries in organizing to secure their just rights and in providing a program for labor in countries

like Argentina, that will be much less radical and of more real benefit.

In this brief narrative, no effort is made to cover the entire labor situation of South America, but only to show, by a few illustrations that the old days are rapidly passing and that South Americans and their friends must recognize that the labor question is destined to be for some time one of the continent's most important and pressing problems.

II.

THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

Five years ago, a gentleman of South America wrote in answer to a query: "The new woman's movement has in many ways, happily enough, not touched the women of South America." He would surely not make such a statement today.

The first cause of the awakening of the women of South America is found in the growing interest in the outside world, which all people on the southern continent have so remarkably developed in the last few years. The woman's movement first took form in a simple coming together of the higher class women for charitable purposes under the auspices of the state Church. In countries like Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, where the woman's movement is the strongest, they have been gradually developing independence from the Church and are now found to be working out their own problems. These are more largely concerned with social betterment, community service, the education of the poor, etc., than they are in the securing of the vote for women, although the latter is the principal platform in the organization of several feminist societies. Dr. Jonghi, a well-known woman physician of Argentina and a leader in the feminist movement, thus describes the situation of women, inherited from Spain:

"Spain has left her seal on everything. Her religion, her language, her customs, her social beliefs, are found in all lands south of the Rio Grande. Women have lived in this atmosphere and conservative spirit, bound to the old traditions which have not permitted some of the South American countries to introduce any new ideas. However, the desire for betterment has broken this conservative spirit in other South American countries, and feminism as a social rebellion, with all of its exaggerations, desires that it have a place assigned to it in the home, in the university, in business and in the professions, sciences and politics. The South American woman is a beautiful type of consecrated maternity, but her education is not sufficient to prepare her as a future citizen. Her devotion to her children is admirable and worthy of all praise, but she needs an education which will enable her to confront the problems of life. Let us take as an example the education that women receive in the Argentine Republic, since that is a country

which is working toward a new life and an interchange of intellectual ideas with the rest of the world.

"Education is obligatory from the sixth to the fourteenth year, girls taking the same courses as boys. After that age the girl seldom attends school. Her parents are contented to complete her education with a few courses in music, painting, elocution and languages. Courses on domestic economy, if given, are short and impractical. She enters society at a very early age. She is absorbed by light conversation and an ambition to make a favorable impression, and is sometimes attracted to philanthropic organizations, generally of religious origin, and is surrounded by an entirely artificial atmosphere. The middle class of girls quite often continue their studies by attending the national colleges, commercial and normal high schools, etc. The majority of these become teachers, dedicating themselves most completely to this profession. Others, with greater ambitions, enter the universities, and with a perseverance worthy of all praise, fight through their courses until they have become Doctors in Philosophy, in Letters, in Chemistry or in Pharmacy. A number of such women become physicians, attorneys and engineers. These are not natural ambitions, but are based on the desire to meet the exigencies of daily life. The working woman ends her intellectual education in the primary school. At fourteen she is initiated into the factories or commercial houses. The Government has recently established night schools in order to help them continue their education.

"Physical education is by no means satisfactory. Sport has become popular among a small circle of the cultured classes, but women of the middle and working classes have only enough spare time to secure the needed rest. There is to be noted, however, an attempt to secure playgrounds and parks, and some commercial houses are making worthy endeavors to awaken among the women interest in sports. There are beginning to appear in the few public playgrounds some of the braver women. Excursions to the country are not frequent. The Argentine woman lacks the liberty which the North American woman enjoys. She must have her parents or some member of the family always with her, which naturally is a detriment to her independent development.

"When physical education is deficient, moral education needs special attention. The restrictions of liberty, an exaggerated prudence, the strict religious morality, the absence of friendship between men and women, the excessive vigilance of parents in

every detail of life, unfit the girl for the development of individual capacities and the meeting of the problems of life. The consequences of this education are easily seen. If woman is to be companion to man, this lack of equality ought to be eliminated."

Let it be remembered that these observations on education apply to the advanced, not by any means to all South America. The women of the various countries are so different in their social status and in the amount of freedom they are allowed, that it is difficult to generalize, so it will be better to speak of the situation in each of the countries recently visited by the writer of these lines.

Peru

Peru is one of the most conservative countries in South America. It has retained more of the Spanish spirit than any other in America. If it were not for some half dozen brave women of Peru, one might say that there is no feminist movement in that country. Fortunately, there are these brave spirits who have contributed greatly, in spite of persecution, to the development of the Woman's Movement. A decade ago no one ever spoke of feminism in Lima except to poke fun at the English suffragettes. This the press did quite often. In 1910 the Feminist Congress met in Buenos Aires, and a young woman from Peru, Miss Maria J. Alvarado Rivera, contributed a paper which was published in one of the Lima dailies. This almost caused a scandal among the more conservative elements in the community. In 1912 Miss Alvarado was invited to deliver a lecture on this subject before the Geographical Society. This brought to her aid a number of the most distinguished liberals of the city and resulted in the organization of a society known as *"Evolucion Femenina."* The principles established by this society were the following:

(a) An ample culture which will enable women to carry out efficaciously their mission.

(b) Since the first need of a state is to develop motherhood, domestic sciences should constitute the basis of feminine education.

(c) The dignifying of work for women.

(d) The defense of her rights.

(e) Equality of man and woman before the courts and in matrimony.
(f) Campaign against all social vices.
(g) Stimulating the performance of social and altruistic service.
(h) Adhesion to movements for peace and idealism.

A remarkable evidence that a new day is dawning for Peruvian women is shown in the recent passing of a divorce law which recognizes a number of rights which must be granted to women. The passing of this law was made a test of strength by both conservatives and liberals, and the victory of the latter evidently means that in the next few years the women will be called upon to take a much larger part in determining what role Peru is to play in the modern world.

Chile

The most compactly organized feminist movement in South America is in Chile. There are three large organizations which represent three different classes of people—the "Club de Señoras" of Santiago represents the women of the higher classes; the "Consejo Nacional de Mujeres" represents the school teacher class. The laboring women have recently organized a very active society which is taking part in the bettering of their own conditions and improvement of general educational and social conditions.

While Chile has been very conservative socially and ecclesiastically, yet she opened her educational institutions to women nearly fifty years ago. When Sarmiento as an exile was living in Santiago, he recommended a liberal treatment of women and their entrance into the university. This latter privilege was granted while Miguel Luis Amugettui was Minister of Education. In 1859, when a former Minister of Education opened a contest for the best paper on popular education, Amugettui received the prize. Among the things which he advocated in that paper was the permitting of women to enter the university, an idea which he had gotten from Sarmiento. The development of woman's education was greatly delayed by the war between Chile, Peru and Bolivia. President Balmaceda was a great friend of popular education. Under him the first national high school or "liceo" for girls was opened, about 1890. There are now forty-nine national "liceos" for girls, all directed by women. Besides this, there are two professional schools for girls in Santiago and one in each province.

The "Consejo Nacional de Mujeres" maintains a home for girls attending the university in Santiago, and does a good deal in various ways toward helping the women students in the capital city. There are nearly a thousand young women attending the University of Chile at the present time. A more wide-awake company of students will not be found in any of the world's capitals. The President of the "Consejo Nacional" is Sra. Labarca Hubertson. She and her husband both are Directors of public schools in Santiago. Sra. Hubertson was sent to the United States by her Government in 1914, to study the educational system. She then became very much interested in the feminist movement here and on returning home was called to direct the Woman's Reading Club of Santiago. The conservative element of this club, not caring to engage in community activities, but desiring only the intellectual work of a woman's club, the new "Consejo Nacional" was formed by the more progressive women. Sra. Hubertson has written several interesting volumes—one on women's activities in the United States and another on the secondary schools of the United States. She is accompanied in her work by a fine circle of women, most of whom are connected with the educational work in Chile. Several women's periodicals are published in Chile, one of the most interest being "El Penica," directed by Señorita Elvira Santa Cruz.

In an address recently given before the "Club de Señoras" of Santiago, the well-known Chilean publisher, Ricardo Salas Edwards stated the following:

"There have been manifested, during the last twenty-five years, phenomena of importance that have bettered woman's general culture and the development of her independence. Among them were the spread of establishments for the primary and secondary education of woman; the occupations themselves that she has found as the teacher of the present generations, which can no longer entertain a doubt of her intellectual capacity; the establishment of great factories and selling houses, which have already given her lucrative employment, independent of the home; the organization of societies and clubs; and, finally, artistic and literary activities, or the Catholic social action of the highest female classes, which has been developed as a stimulus to the entire sex during recent years.

* * * * *

"Simultaneously with this victory which woman has achieved

outside of our territory, a natural force is again enlarging the field of representative government in Chile by increasing more and more the proportion of the inhabitants who participate in the election of public authorities, and, consequently, in determining the policies of the government."

An illustration of the way Chilean women can develop when opportunity is given is found in the case of Señorita Mandujano. As a student, knowing very little English, she came to New York some five years ago. She made her own living while here and in a little while was delivering lectures concerning South America before women's clubs. After three years' residence in this country she became editor of a well-known magazine published in English. She has now returned to Chile and is giving her best to the education of girls and the development of the feminist movement.

The women of Chile are doing all kind of work to help improve the social conditions of women and children. In the address of Sr. Edwards, previously referred to, he makes the following appeal, which is really a description of what the women of Chile are now doing in their various organizations:

"Who are better acquainted than you with the miserable habitations of the majority of the laboring people; who know better than you that the scarcity of food and the slight desire to constitute a family, with the aid of tuberculosis and the social evil, are attacking the traditional vigor of the working classes; that alcohol and gambling wrest from the hands of innumerable laborers their children's bread; and that, as a consequence of all this, the number of those whom natural evolution ought to select as the best fitted to rise from the class is very limited; while it should be the current to replenish the higher classes, as in the great democracies, this being a phenomenon which in itself reveals the gravity of our social ills?

"How, without the co-operation of the public authorities, can we foster the rapid improvement of dwellings and the general health, and how can we honestly apply the existing restrictions upon alcohol, which our mayors do not enforce, if there be not felt in our municipalities, as in other countries, the direct action of the woman citizen who keeps guard over the family and the race; and how shall we succeed in securing, without decided political activity, the just regulation of labor and the establishment of a system for the participation of the working man in the benefits

of industry, which is the true and only solution of this artificial antagonism of interests?

"The hour for doing something presses, although the political leaders of the present day are not aware of its passing. You, who feel and comprehend the sufferings of this people, are the ones who can best contribute to this undertaking, before the Chilean masses give themselves up in desperation to the agitators, and before the industrials, beaten by exorbitant demands, close their work-shops.

"If your activity can be useful in contributing to internal social peace, you are also well aware that the great thinker, President Wilson, has sought to found upon the sentiments of women the future international tranquillity, and that, in order to remove the threatening dangers of a new armed peace, he solicited, in the conferences at Versailles, the universal recognition of the right of woman to vote.

"In the dead Argentine-Chilean question, the attitude of the women of the two countries was a noble summons to harmony, which it was impossible to neglect and which caused things to be viewed with calmness.

"It may be that in the old question of the Pacific, which is now a stumbling-block in the way of the progress and confederation of America, there may fall to you, with greater right, a similar role."

Argentina

The feminist movement of Argentina is more complicated and varied than in any other South American country. Buenos Aires is such a large city and there are so many different national and social elements, that movements cannot be analyzed here in the simple way that they can be for other South American centers.

The Socialist Party has had considerable strength in Buenos Aires for a number of years. During the last three or four years the Soviet movement has developed rapidly, and there are now some 280,000 paid members in the Soviet movement among the laboring classes. Many of these are women, and they are taking a very active part in the propagation of all Socialist doctrines, often going to the extremes of Bolshevism.

The "Consejo Nacional de Mujeres" is one of the most dignified and progressive of the women's organizations. It makes a careful study of women's movements in different parts of the world and invites distinguished lecturers to appear before it. One of the

most important lectures delivered before this body recently is that by Dr. Ernesto Quesada, the distinguished Argentine sociologist. Those wishing a careful and conservative though sympathetic presentation of the feminist movement in Argentina would do well to read this lecture. Dr. Quesada advises the women of Argentina to work first on an educational program and after they have attained equality before the law, then to take up the matter of political equality.

One of the most active of all Argentine women's organizations is the "Club de Madres" of Buenos Aires. They recently held their fourth annual "Baby Week" in Buenos Aires. They had the cooperation of the best people of the city, including merchants, physicians and government officials. A large building in the heart of the city was placed at their disposal for their most recent exhibit. They had worked out all kinds of charts, showing the death rate of babies, the proper way for nourishment and taking care of the child, and gave out all kinds of information along these lines to the visitors, interesting them in carrying out the purposes of this organization. One of the charts showed that more babies under two years of age died in 1914 in Buenos Aires than there were persons between the ages of two and thirty. They announced the movement as a campaign of education—not an exhibit for charity. Inasmuch as in Argentina out of every eight children who are born, one does not live to be two years of age, or, in other words, since 43,800 children less than two years of age died every year, they proposed to greatly reduce this death rate. The competent president of this organization, known in all parts of Argentina for her interest in social development, is Doctora Ernestina de Nelson, the wife of Professor Ernesto Nelson, who is well-known to North American educationalists.

Buenos Aires has been, with Rio de Janeiro, one of the worst centers for white slave trade. Probably for that reason the best women of the city have become particularly interested in the movement of a white life for two. A distinguished Anglo-Argentine lady, Señora Blanca C. de Hume, has made important contributions by her writings toward the solution of this problem.

As early as 1912, we find that some of the far-seeing women of Buenos Aires were making scientific studies of the condition of women workers. Señorita Carolina Muzilli published such an investigation for an Exposition on Social Service in Gante, Belgium. Her work was highly commended by the government

officials of her city. This most interesting survey shows that even in1912 there was a large number of women working in shoe factories, garment factories and many other kinds of small factories in Argentina. As far as statistics were available, there were shown to be at that time 205,851 women wage-earners in factories and commercial houses of Buenos Aires. Women were terribly underpaid, had to work long hours with no privileges whatever, and were always receiving less wages than men. When Miss Muzilli began her investigations she found prejudice was so great that it was impossible to obtain data until she had gotten work in one of the factories. For several months she persevered, until she got the data for this remarkable survey of the conditions of women, one of the very few scientific studies of industrial conditions ever made in Latin America.

Argentine law establishes a difference between the sexes to the disadvantage of women. The law excludes her from the management of family property, which, without condition, must be given into the hands of the husband. If the husband wastes the common property, the wife may solicit separation of their properties, if she has not, as is usually the custom on being married, assigned to her husband all property rights. The woman participates in the increase in value of the family property, but where there is a separation of this property she receives her personal property again and half of the increase. Laws grant divorce, which signifies only the separation of man and wife, but incapacitates them for marrying again.

The following are the demands of the "Woman's Rights Association of Buenos Aires":

1. The repeal of all laws which establish a difference between the two sexes and against woman, in order that the latter be no longer the weakling which she is today, before the law.
2. The right of women to hold public office and especially to be members of the National and Regional Councils on Education.
3. The establishment of special courts for children and women.
4. The passing of laws for the protection of maternity and for making legitimate all the children that are born.

5. The abolition of all legal prostitution and the establishment of the white life for both.
6. An equality of wages.
7. Equal political rights.

The Young Women's Christian Association which has been organized in Buenos Aires for a number of years, has done much toward awaking women to new interests in life. While suffering from small quarters, they have gathered round them a number of the prominent women of Argentina, who are helping them in the conducting of night classes, gymnasium, cafeteria and other services for girls working in stores and offices, and in studying the general means of improving the womanhood of that progressive country. The "National League of Evangelical Women" has recently become such a live organization that the daily press gives attention to its program.

Among the many activities which engage the attention of the women of Buenos Aires is that of temperance. This has come to be such an important work that they are now planning, with the aid of some North American societies, to erect a temperance building in Buenos Aires which shall house the various activities along these lines.

One can, therefore, look forward with confidence to the development of woman's work for woman in the great city of Buenos Aires. The Argentine women have always shown themselves to be full of ideas. It was a woman who suggested in the first place that the peace pact between Chile and Argentina be celebrated by the erection of a statue of Christ on the boundary line between the two countries; thus the wonderful statue of "The Christ of the Andes," made out of the very cannon which were to have been used by these countries in destroying one another, now stands in its impressive isolation on the lofty Andes Mountain as one of the most impressive monuments in the world.

Lest the picture be left too roseate, however, the following quotation is here given from a thoughtful article recently appearing in "The River Plate Observer," an English paper of Buenos Aires:

"One of the signs of the times in Buenos Aires is most certainly the spread of Feminism among Argentine women. It has planted its standard, which one feels convinced will never be hauled down, but its adherents are still few and far between, with the great

mass of the women, gentle and simple, indifferent or hostile to their would be redeemers. One felt this very conclusively at the meeting wherein Dra. Lanteri de Renshaw enunciated her parliamentary programme. That her election would be of marked benefit to the state and forward the cause of social reform is on the other hand quite indisputable. Read the statistics of infant mortality in the up-country provinces of Argentina, study some of the customs of the peasants even in the Queen Province of Buenos Aires, go into the question of social assistance and protection for the poor in the Federal Capital, and then, with the picture vividly before your eyes, ask yourself whether a qualified woman doctor able and willing to touch unpleasant themes with her gloves off, not for political ends but in order that they may be reformed out of existence, cannot be of use to the Republic.

"Unfortunately few foreigners realize how unwarranted is the description of "civilized" as applied to things Argentine outside the immediate pale of the upper strata of city life. Illiteracy and witchcraft, two complementary crimes, are not small stigma to apply to a country that prides itself on its modernity. Yet forty per cent. of the population of Argentina comes under the first head, while only the other day a "witch" was scarified with knives in Santiago del Estero in order that a plaster of the blood might cure a victim of her sorceries!

"Infant protection and due regard to the bare prerogatives of the female sex are two of Argentina's most crying needs today, the twentieth century notwithstanding. And seeing that the present deputies, who are masculine, have never yet found time or opportunity to tackle the obvious social problems that lie before their eyes despite the fact that many of them are medical men and hail from the provinces—a woman, acting under strong convictions and able to convince people of her sincerity, may have better fortune.

"Dr. Julieta Lanteri de Renshaw offers a programme that should appeal not only to the members of her sex, but that demands the support of every person of commonsense who has studied, ever so superficially, the present needs of Argentina. Without a sound system of morality Argentina can never become a truly great nation, and one is almost inclined to go so far as to predict that until the women of Argentina have a share in the making and the executing of their country's laws that desirable soundness will be

still to seek. Must one explain that "morality" is here written in its widest sense, the greater including the less?

"The road before the Argentine feminists is not an easy one to travel; as was said by another great Reformer some 2,000 years ago, their foes will be of their own households. Yet sooner or later the triumph will be theirs."

Uruguay

Uruguay is probably the most liberal of all the South American countries, most willing to try new ideas. It is, therefore, not surprising to find a very large circle of women in Montevido who are active in all kind of movements for the betterment of their people. Uruguay is the only country in South America that has a woman's university. One of the best woman's magazines has long been published there. The headquarters of the "Continental Temperance Society," which was organized by Urguayan women, is located in Montevideo. It would not be surprising to see this progressive little country become the first of South America to grant votes to women. President Baltazar Brum, himself a young progressive of a marked character, in discussing this question, recently said:

"With very little understanding of the matter, it has been affirmed that the triumph of feminism will destroy the fundamental morality of the family and of society. To contradict such an assertion it is only necessary to remember that this has not happened in any of the countries which have decided in favor of the political equality of both sexes. Women vote in England, Germany, Denmark, Austria, Switzerland, Australia, the United States, Canada, etc., without having originated the calamities announced by the pessimist. In regard to this matter it would be well to study the situation of women in Catholic societies and in Protestant societies. In the latter women are surrounded with the greatest respect and consideration. They participate actively, on an equality with men, in all subjects of general interest. Their homes lose nothing in the matter of comfort, morality and wholesome joy in comparison with Catholic homes, and their children are cared for with no less love and solicitude and certainly with more provision than Catholic children. The political activities of the Protestant women have not therefore broken the fundamental morality of society nor have they disturbed the happiness of the family.

"The Catholic woman, on the contrary, is placed on a plane of evident inferiority in her relationship to men. The laws which men in these countries dictate are full of irritating injustice, giving the man a specially privileged place. The woman only occupies herself with the home and social activities. She is kept in complete indifference and isolation in regard to questions of general interest. She is about the same as a piece of furniture in the house, ornamental furniture in some cases and in others simply a matter of utility, instead of being a person of clear thought and of disciplined will. And it is natural that exactly these same societies, where the erroneous conceptions and prejudices against feminine dignity prevail, are the very ones which resist most strongly the recognition of woman's political rights."

Brazil

The remarkable development of the desire among the women of Brazil to get away from their old restrictions and to be of real service to their country, may be seen in the development of the Young Women's Christian Association of Rio de Janeiro. It was established in 1920. In the celebration of its first anniversary a few weeks ago, it was able to report 1,200 members. The press of Brazil often carries important articles concerning women. Recently a bill was proposed in the National Senate, to give women the vote. In a recent number of the "Journal do Commercio," the most important daily in Brazil, an article covering a page was given over to an argument for women's rights. As is there said, "Only one little Latin American country, Costa Rica in Central America, has given the vote to women. In no South American country has she gained this right. Brazil ought to lead in doing this thing which most of the progressive countries of the world have already done."

Dr. Ruy Barbosa, recently elected a judge of the World Court of the League of Nations, referred as follows to the need of Brazilian women enlarging their sphere:

"The world moves toward other laws, toward other goals, toward a future of illimitable extent. Crowns have disappeared, democracy seems to be extending its vast dominion over the whole world. All human relations are changed, transformed, recast, even those between the sexes. The older conditions of life are being swept away in a revolution that may have incalculable results.

"Women assumes now in the destiny of the human race a part

that will place upon her burdens and opportunities not experienced hitherto. In the British electorate, if I mistake not, there are six million women voters. A revolution, one of the greatest revolutions of the world, has taken place legally, peacefully, by an act of the parliament, without any one's further concerning himself over the incalculable change that has occurred in the policy of one of the greatest nations of Europe. Will it be possible for Brazil, in the midst of all these revolutions and upheavals, not to suffer its meed of change in the character of its politics, its institutions, the procedures of its statesmen?

"No, gentlemen; we must be taught by these events, and we ought to realize that our republic must accommodate herself to the new modes of thought, that our government must set its people a different example from the wonted one, or days perhaps tempestuous will be in store for us."

One or the most remarkable demonstrations of the change in attitude in South America toward women was the recent visit of the president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of North America, Miss Anna Gordon. Miss Gordon was received not only by the most distinguished women in each of the countries, but by the highest government officials, including the Presidents of practically all the countries she visited. In Peru she was given a reception in the famous University of San Marcos, the oldest university on the American continent, and until recently one of the most conservative. In Chile she was also received in the "Salon de Honor" of the University, was invited to the homes of the best families, received by the President of the Republic and given every honor that a distinguished visitor could be given. In Buenos Aires the principal women of the city gave her a reception at the Plaza Hotel, where the unusual thing occurred of the Bishop of the Catholic Church and the Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church appearing on the same platform to advocate temperance. A great meeting was held in the Colon Theatre, probably the most beautiful theatre in the world, where every nation of the world was represented in tableaux advocating the cause of temperance. In Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro the same honors were shown this modest little woman. Be it said to her credit that she everywhere made it clear that she was only there to show the sympathy of North American women for South American women, and their desire to be of any help to their Southern sisters, but in no way to dictate policies or programs.

III.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

"Alcohol is a poison. It must be destroyed," were the words written on a large banner, stretched across the street, in the first town I visited in Chile. Passing along the streets to a beautiful park on the seashore, I sat down to enjoy the view and found written on the very bench on which I was sitting, "Alcohol is a poison. It must be destroyed." This is only one of the evidences of the strong temperance campaign carried on not by foreign agitators but by the Chileans, not by the intellectuals and the theorists but by the labor unions. Workmen have come to realize that along with other influences that aid in their exploitation, the liquor business is a very powerful one. Many of the rich families and the clergy own large vineyards and the industrial situation is shaped so that the products of these vineyards and of the breweries must be sold. Here is a case where the production creates the demand and not demand the production. The total production of intoxicants annually in Chile is estimated at 600,000,000 litres, and there are said to be 26,000 producers of wine. The capital invested in alcoholic liquors is reported as 270,000,000 pesos.

Chile has often been pointed out as one of the worst countries in the world for alcoholic drink. The Araucanian Indians in the southern part of the country were the strongest of all the native races of South America. The Chileans were never able to conquer them by arms. During recent years, however, there is reported to have been a systematic effort to conquer them by alcohol and certainly they have become a very weak people. An awakening to the great loss of character among these Indians because of strong drink has resulted in a petition from the residents in the district. It is for a greater enforcement of the existing laws which prevent the sale of alcohol on Sundays and feast days and for new laws which will gradually eliminate entirely the selling of liquor to the Indians.

A few years ago it would have seemed quite ridiculous to speak of total abstinence in Chile, but some few brave spirits, under the leadership of Dr. Carlos Fernandez Peña, one of the finest spirits in all America, and one of the strongest fighters against social evil, began the temperance campaign. Vigorous societies

have been developed in the cities of Valparaiso and Santiago. The "National League Against Alcohol" now represents a very forceful combination of men and women who have influence in the country. At their last national convention they proposed the introduction of text-books teaching the effects of alcohol, in the primary and high schools. As already indicated, however, the labor movement has recently arisen as the most influential advocate of temperance. They have been encouraged in their work by President Alessandri. One of his first official acts on assuming office last December was to receive a petition from the Chilean Federation of Labor protesting against the alleged attempts of the League for the Defense of the Wine Industry to force northern port workers to unload liquors. The labor organization already had adopted a resolution, effective January 1, to refuse to unload liquors, whether of home or foreign manufacture. This petition, urges the government to co-operate with the Commission on Control of Alcohol, in order that the commission might realize its program based on education and ultimate transformation "of the wine industry, breweries and distilleries into great factors of public welfare." The federation represents 300,000 workers it is said. The petition vigorously assails alcoholism and declares that the Executive Labor Board was instructed to initiate a campaign against it throughout the republic. The wine growers are naturally organizing in defense of their interests.

The protest of the workmen against the handling of alcohol has extended to all parts of the republic. The watchword of Dr. Peña is "Alcohol is a poison; taken in large or small quantities, it is a poison." The owners of the vineyards are opposed to Dr. Peña. A cabinet minister recently issued a decree prohibiting the drinking of alcoholic beverages in properties owned by the state and announced that he would prohibit the planting of vineyards. This prohibition includes the nitrate district where there are a hundred thousand workmen who live in a desert, earn the best wages and consume a large part of the products of the vineyards. Some therefore consider that the order is a blow to the economic progress of the country. But the recent election of Sr. Alessandri as President shows that many believe in the suppression of the traffic in alcohol.

Soon after the President was elected he made a trip to the nitrate regions. At the banquets that were given for him he ordered that no alcoholic beverages should be served. This is the

first time that such a thing has happened in the history of the republic. The President is working to solve the economic side of this problem in a way to benefit the country. As Dr. Peña says, "We have been able to create in our country the most famous vineyards in the new world. We have developed the best experts. We have the best grapes and the best wines. The same enterprise will cause us to find the best way to use the products of our vineyards for the progress and not for the destruction of our people." The Chilean government not long ago sent experts to the United States to study the question of the use of grapes for grape juice and other non-intoxicating drinks.

Uruguay is another South American country where a very strong prohibition movement has been developed for the last five years. The movement is so conscious of its strength that it has recently launched the battle-cry, "Uruguay dry by 1925, the Centenary of our independence." There are those who laugh at such a cry, as there were those in the United States who laughed at the slogan, "A saloonless nation by 1920." There is no question that this temperance movement in Uruguay counts some of the most influential people of the country as its members. The "National League Against Alcohol" has held several annual conventions and is now planning a temperance convention for all of South America. The South American secretary of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union had her headquarters for four years in Motevideo and made her influence very strongly felt. She has recently moved to Buenos Aires where an equally strong movement is now developing. The South American secretaries of the World Sunday School Association and of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America have also been called to aid in this movement which is led by some of the most distinguished men and women of the country. It has the hearty sympathy of President Brum, who paid the expenses of two North American young women, representing the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, on a trip through the different provinces of Uruguay to give public lectures on the matter of temperance.

An anti-alcoholic law has just been presented to the Congress of the Republic, which contains the following provisions:

"The drinking, manufacturing, invitation to partake, the presentation or sale of alcoholic liquors, shall be considered as crimes designated as alcoholism and punished by fine from 200 to 1,000 pesos, or imprisonment. This does not except wine, beer, cider,

and liquors with a smaller alcohol content. The preparation and sale of alcoholic beverages in drug stores and pharmacies and the therapeutic use of alcohol upon the presentation of a doctor's prescription, given for legitimate reasons, are exceptions to this law."

In Uruguay a number of the best physicians and scientists have given attention to this subject. In a treatise on the diseases of the liver, Dr. Ricaldoni says: "Our drinkers are eclectic. Wine is found on the table; away from the table there is white drink, cognac, bitters, ginger and other mixtures. The workman refreshes himself with sugar water. The wine is generally of the detestable kind, the white drinks are atrocious. The well-to-do drinker believes in small doses taken often. The laborer uses torrential down-pourings on Sundays. The former dissimilates with little difficulty during the hours in which he is in contact with the world his physical debilities, inaugurating each morning with an eye-opener. The latter gives the whole week to honest toil and leaves for Sundays and holidays his torment by intoxication."

The Director of Charities in Montevideo recently said: "It is not simply among the laboring classes where the battle against alcohol must be fought. There are other degrading manifestations which can only be combatted by means of education and by legal repression. There is the alcoholism of the dress suit, of the 'high life,' that has invented a multitude of names to designate its curious establishments which are, after all, only places for the selling of alcoholic liquors, just as harmful as the taverns of the poor where the Indian drinks his corn whiskey and renders fervid worship to Bachus in the midst of the lowest scandals. In these countries of the La Plata the fight against alcohol is not yet well organized to counteract the very strong influence in these young societies. Only a few enthusiastic propagandists are working against a strong general indifference. We need a study of social hygiene, with statistics vigorously presented, to change public opinion."

In Argentina the eminent international lawyer and journalist who writes the editorials for "La Prensa," Dr. Estanislao Zeballo, has recently prepared a law which was presented to Congress, which goes a good ways toward making Argentina a dry country.

The project received a favorable comment from the press in Argentina, "La Capital" commenting as follows:

"The project of deputy don Julio S. de la Reta (who presented the measure) comes at an opportune moment, and we hope that it will be appreciated in its full value by legislators desirous of combatting the social plagues conspiring against life, the agents of physical and moral degradation. The regulation of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks should be the object of a careful study on the part of the National Congress; the initiatives tending to eliminate slowly the consumption of drinks of this nature must be complemented by the total suppression of the sale of liquors particularly harmful to the consumer."

The women of Argentina have a number of anti-alcoholic organizations. Encouraged by the aid of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, they are now planning a building in Buenos Aires which will be the center of temperance and other social movements for the betterment of community life.

The temperance movement in Brazil is being led by President Pessoa himself, who has recently proposed to the National Congress quite drastic legislation. A very active campaign has been carried on by the evangelical Sunday Schools in Brazil. The Sunday School movement in that country has developed very rapidly under Brazilian leadership. The daily press is very favorable to the movement and the Brazilian leaders are able to develop public opinion in favor of temperance through the newspapers. The pastor of a large Presbyterian church in Rio de Janeiro, which counts among its constituency members of Congress and leading professional men, recently inaugurated his stereopticon with a lecture on temperance which many of the most influential citizens of the capital attended.

In Colombia, Senator Felix Salazar is said to have presented to Congress a law on alcoholic prohibitions which was much debated. The Minister of Agriculture and Commerce is here quoted:

"The anti-alcoholic problem must be met squarely, and an advance must be made despite the obstacles. In the United States, when the fight began, the trial of alcohol produced a book with statistical data that was appalling. Crime finds in alcohol its feeder, and statistics prove this. Fifty per cent. of the murders have alcohol as their cause; likewise sixty per cent. of the divorces; the days in which most crimes occur are precisely Saturdays and

Sundays when the working classes dedicate themselves in their idle hours to alcohol."

Temperance agitation in Peru was begun as far back as 1901, when the municipality of Lima offered a prize for the best essay on the means of combatting alcohol. The real campaign began in 1912, when the national society of temperance was formed. Due to their work there was passed recently a law which prohibits the sale of intoxicating liquors from Saturday afternoon to Monday morning, in all parts. A prize was offered for the best manual of temperance for teachers. A young student, fresh from the University of Wisconsin, won the prize and his book has now become a text-book in the schools of the republic. The temperance society lately pointed out the fact that in Lima there was a "cantina" for every nineteen families, and a public school for every 1,025 families.

Reference has already been made, in the section on the feminist movement, to the visit of Miss Anna Gordon, president of the "Woman's Christian Temperance Union." That visit signified as much and probably more for the temperance movement than it did for the feminist movement. Dr. Silva Cruz, the Secretary of War, and president of the University Extension of the National Educational Association, of Chile, said the following in welcoming Miss Gordon to the reception held in her honor in the University of Chile:

"The presence among us of Miss Anna Gordon and Miss Julia Dean, whose exemplary lives are a beautiful witness of feminine energy placed at the service of the most vital interests of humanity, the presence of these heroines of social action, honors and rejoices the National Association of Education. The fine tact of woman, her delicate sensibilities, her superior morality, her heart open to the vibrations of human sympathy, make her the best of social workers. There is no one like her to suffer with those who suffer, to bind up the wounds, no one like her to prevent social vice of which she is the first victim generally, without blame herself. Happy are the people who like the great republic of the North have opened to women a wide field for their noble and renegerative mission. The forces for good in the United States have conquered the vice of alcohol throughout the country and they are now prepared to give their beneficent influence to other parts of the world."

Miss Gordon's visit was a triumphant procession from the first

city visited, Lima, to the last one, Rio de Janeiro. At a fiesta given in the Colon Theatre of Buenos Aires by the children of Buenos Aires, aided by the principal educationalists, the children showed the value of water for health and advocated in various classic ways the value of temperance. Motion pictures were taken of this entertainment and these films are being shown in different parts of South America with splendid effect.

IV.

THE MOVEMENT TO MODERNIZE EDUCATION

Education always has been recognized by South America as a most important problem. Illiteracy has hung like a millstone about the neck of the young, ambitious countries. Practical difficulties, the lack of financial ability, a scattered population, the lack of teachers, etc., have prohibited coping with illiteracy. The inheritences of scholasticism have prevented the secondary schools from producing students who were prepared to confront the practical problems of life. Today, however, there are found various groups who voice their dissatisfaction with the old scholasticism and a determination to reform their educational system.

The reform of education is a favorite topic of the press and with public speakers and legislators. In the old days those who referred to the high per cent of illiteracy were regarded as unpatriotic. But now there is much public discussion of the question. "La Manana," a daily of Montevideo, in an editorial advocating new methods, recently gave the following statistics on illiteracy in the different countries. Of course they are only estimates, as no real census has ever been taken of most of these countries. Argentina, 38.8; Uruguay, 40; Chile, 68; Brazil, 86; Bolivia, 87; Peru, 88; Paraguay, 88; Venezuela, 92; Colombia, 92.

It was also stated that in Brazil, when a recent census was taken in one district, only thirteen out of three thousand could sign their name. In Ecuador there is one pupil for every two thousand people, in primary schools. There are only one thousand nine hundred students in all secondary schools. There is no high school for girls and only two girls in the Republic are in the University of Ecuador.

The following are interesting words from the rector of an Argentine university: "Ten thousand persons do all the thinking and directing for the eight or nine million Argentines. Consumers of French novels may number one hundred thousand, but the readers of serious, non technical books are between two thousand and four thousand."

Agustin Alvarez says: "South America lives by lighting candles to the saints in order to see who are the ones to work the miracles."

while it does not kindle lights in the minds of the children in order to illuminate the way."

Student Activities

Among those who are giving themselves to the reformation of the educational system of South America, the students themselves form the most spectacular group. Student organizations in these countries, composed as they generally are of the sons of the upper classes, have always exerted a strong influence in public matters. Students often showed their displeasure by staging demonstrations, when matters did not go to suit them. These demonstrations in former days were usually against some action of the Church or of foreigners. The change from the old way was vividly shown recently when the students marched through the streets, not with any cries of "down with the priests," or "death to the foreigners," but with these significant words written on their banners: "Luz, Más Luz." These students had come to realize that the great outside world was moving on, and that their antiquated educational system was not fitting them for this new world. "Light, more light" on present day life was their demand.

As in China the students are discovering that they may become a social and political factor. They are often foolish in aims and methods, after the manner of youth, but their influence is extraordinary. Lately they have taken to joining forces with the labor unions. This combination of students and workmen is one of the most interesting social phenomena noticeable in South America. Their energies are directed against reactionary forces. Their radical actions have brought about some startling results in countries where they are compactly organized, and in one or two of the countries governments are very much afraid of what these new crusaders may do.

In Peru this union has advanced no further than a student movement for teaching the laboring men in night classes, since the labor movement there is not yet strong enough to take any part in a fight for reform. But the students of San Marcos University are teaching classes of laboring men, that number from three to seven hundred, five nights a week, either in the student center in Lima, or in industrial centers in the suburbs of the city. This is probably a most hopeful sign for those who look forward to the time when the Peruvian labor element shall be

sufficiently instructed to take an intelligent part in their own emancipation from the drudgery and squalor of their present life. Even now this combination of students and workmen in Peru once in a while joins in a slap at the Church, although to do so in Peru means daring to put one's economic or social life in jeopardy.

In Argentina this student-labor movement has grown most remarkably. It has brought about results in most every phase of life. In 1910 the students and workmen came into open conflict in the streets of Buenos Aires. There were most serious results from this fight. To see them now working side by side for the forcing of reforms is therefore little less than miraculous. It is in Argentina that both the students and the workmen have carried their demands to revolutionary results. Student riots and strikes have not been amusing pranks or diversions by any means. They have resulted in serious fighting and deaths on both sides. In La Plata the police found themselves unable to handle the situation and soldiers were called out. They instituted a seige of the buildings where the students, armed with modern rifles, defended themselves for days. During one of the strikes a student who dared to go to his examination, was shot down in cold blood by his fellow students.

A recent editorial in "La Nacion," of Buenos Aires, says: "In the Colegio Nacional of La Plata there are found today much broken furniture, torn curtains, documents thrown over the floors and archives upturned because of student riots. A great deal can be forgiven on account of the fire of youth, but it is impossible to understand how educated young men in centers of culture can fall into acts which reveal that the most essential thing in life is lacking—respect. This bad behavious is seen not only in the action of students of the Colegio Nacional of La Plata. It is seen daily among those who do not show any of the forms of courtesy which were such a beautiful part of our social life in the old days. There is a visible lack of regard for the rights of others. All places are entered as a conquered country, and there seems to be no feeling of power, if it is not exercised in acts of violence. This spectacle is seen on the streets at all hours. Trams are taken by assault. Women are pushed in elevators and loud comments are made on emotional scenes in the picture shows, where many of the spectators keep on their hats until the curtain rises. There is a general lack of respect and this situation gives rise to such happenings as we have witnessed in the national college."

In Buenos Aires the rector of the Law School, one of the best known publicists of South America, was barricaded recently in the Law Building by students, who kept him there until he was rescued by the police reserves. In Cordova the strike lasted for almost all last year, and witnessed the same bloody scenes that in the old days used to be associated with labor strikes in the United States.

As a demonstration of sympathy with the students of Cordova, the entire university student body of Argentina went on a three days' strike, when they paraded the streets and called with vociferous voices for their rights. Following that demonstration, the Argentine University Federation was organized and a convention held, in July of 1919, to study student problems. As a result of this movement the students have forced the authorities to revise the university system, at least to the extent of giving them a vote in the election of the faculties that are to teach them. This right was demanded because the students felt that they were not getting the teaching and attention that modern life demanded. Their professors were generally professional men, who came to the university for their lectures only, giving the same material year after year, paying no attention to the students, using their position for their own selfish ends rather than for the development of the students. One who has lived closely to these students, in referring to these struggles, says with evident sympathy for this movement: "If our students have not been called to shed their blood on the field of battle, there seems to be in these movements a moral awakening and a disposition to uproot at any cost the erroneous traditions from which they have been suffering. It is necessary to live close to these students, to suffer with them the results of being abandoned by governmental authorities and understand the terrible lack of moral guidance, in order to appreciate the meaning of many of their acts."

Attitude of Educational Leaders

Among the teachers and educational administrators, as well as among the students, is found this dissatisfaction with the past and a striving toward a new day. The movement among the professional educators toward modernizing their work seems to lean toward a closer following of the United States in educational matters.

Upon my first visit to South America in 1914 I was impressed

with the fact that North American education was very slightly regarded in our sister continent. In 1917 I found that the students were turning to the United States because the war had shut them out of Europe.. In 1921 I find not only that students are intensely interested in how they can get to the United States, but that educational leaders in the government and in the universities are also studying North American educational methods and are becoming convinced that these should be more largely adopted by South America. In the past the French system was the generally accepted basis of education. German and Belgian professors have been employed to some extent during the last decade, but today the North American educational ideals seem to be more popular. The returning students from the United States and the tremendous surge of national unity and effectiveness which marked our participation in the war, are serving together to turn the attention of Hispanic educational leaders to this country. They begin to suspect that there is a whole realm of idealism and of intellectual evolution here into which they have scarcely entered. They are even asking: "Is is not possible that an educational system freely developed in a free American state should have certain qualities that would fit it for the uses and needs of other free American states?" The question has become a fascinating one for them. I do not wish to convey the idea that there is any wholesale copying of our educational system, for such is not the case. It may be even that I have identified too largely the desire for modernizing education with a leaning toward North American education.

In Peru, the traditional friend of the United States, the President of the Republic, has appointed an American Educational Commission through which the whole educational system of Peru has been turned over to North Americans for reorganization. The work of this commission really began some ten years ago when the present executive, Sr. Leguia, was serving his first term. He then called Dr. Harry Erwin Bard and three other educational experts from the United States to reform the national school system. Dr. Bard worked with the Peruvian educators for some two years on the theoretical side of the problem, but little was done practically. Two of the other North American educators became heads of state schools, and one, Dr. Guiseke, is still the president of the University of Cuzco. When President Leguia was again chosen President last year, he invited Dr. Bard to re-

turn and bring with him twenty-five leading educators, specialists in school administration, normal, technical and commercial training and school activities. These men are now on the ground beginning their work. The number may be increased to as high as two hundred if the funds can be secured. The possibilities for success or for failure are enormous.

A new law suggested by the commission and just passed provides for a complete administrative system, based, as far as possible, on a sane balance between the political and administrative functions of public education, and a right adjustment between central and local control. It provides amply for the practical and vocational training without neglecting the cultural subjects which have been the backbone of Peru's system heretofore. Particular care is given to the training of teachers, from the primary grades to the University, so that many of the best young men and women of the country should be attracted to this profession, since also a much higher rate of compensation is provided. The Director General of Instruction, which office is now held by Dr. Bard, has, under the Minister of Public Instruction, a member of the Cabinet, complete charge of the technical side of the system. Next to him are three regional directors, who have charge of primary and secondary schools in the three districts into which the nation is divided. Each of these regional directors has a corps of assistants who represent him in the inspection of schools, in the conduct of institutes and in other ways of developing education in their respective territories. The directors themselves are required to give a reasonable time to visiting the schools and through them local needs should receive attention, heretofore an impossible thing. The three regional directors are among those brought from the United states recently, and are already out on their districts getting the new system inaugurated.

This educational mission is one of the greatest opportunities that has ever been given to the United States to pass on the blessings of its public schools to a needy sister nation. If this experiment in Peru is successful, it will have a strong influence on American private schools, not only in Peru but in all parts of Latin America. If political upheavals, church intrigues and lack of funds cause it to fail. it will also react against American mission schools and against all North American influence in South America.

Besides this movement by the government, the classic University of San Marcos, the oldest in America, founded a hundred

years before John Harvard began his college, has recently sent one of its young and enthusiastic professors to the United States to study our university life. He returned to Lima with a message of enthusiasm for North American institutions and an expression of liberalism which is likely to cause something of a revolution at old San Marcos. While this university is not financially able to carry out its desire for a regular system of exchange professors with North American schools, it would be greatly pleased to have the closest relations possible with them. The students of the University are studying how to be helpful in the community. This extension work is a healthy sign of an awakening in the institution. Since the University was not in session I could not lecture before the whole student body, as the faculty desired, but I was able a number of times to speak with them in small gatherings about closer relations with North American university life. It would have been easy to spend several months there in just such work. It would be well for some of our universities to take the major responsibility in developing an interchange with this historic institution of the ancient city of Lima.

An interesting experience in Lima was being in the midst of a student riot, which was brought on by police interference with a meeting in the "patio" of San Marcos University, when Prof. Belaunde was addressing the students concerning certain abuses practiced by the government. In the midst of the address government secret agents started a disturbance which grew until all who had guns were using them, and those of us who didn't were hiding behind any available protection. The invading of the sacred precints of the revered San Marcos caused a sensation and most of the faculty resigned. The government has been unable to get representative men to take their places, hence the University remains closed, having been declared to be in *"estado de reorganizacion."*

Chile is one of the countries where, in the past, there has been most prejudice against the United States. During the last few years, however, students from Chile have been coming to this country in larger numbers and have reported their favorable impressions back home, changing the old prejudice into a real appreciation, especially of our educational life.

The first town visited in the "Shoe-string Republic" was the port of Coquimbo, where I went ashore for a few hours while the boat was discharging cargo. Wandering along the street I saw a school building and thought I would go in for a visit. What was

my surprise to find that the Director was a young Chilean graduate of Columbia University who had just returned from the United States, after three years of special study, in order to establish for the Government of Chile commercial high schools of the type which has been developed in the United States. A visit to his classes showed that he had been able to penetrate deeply enough into commercial education in the United States to establish a similar institution in his own town. I am just in receipt of a book of some five hundred pages which he has written for the Chilean government. This is to be distributed among the educators of Chile for the purpose of propagating the idea of commercial high schools in that country along the lines established by the author in the Coquimbo experiment.

The University of Chile, located in Santiago, is a great school, a real university, with several thousand students. It was my privilege to lecture to the student body in the great *Salon de Honor* on the subject of developing closer relations between Chile and the United States. I also gave two addresses before the students of the *Instituto Pedagogico,* which bears the same relations to the University that Teachers' College does to Columbia University. There are several students in the "Instituto" who are planning to come to the United States with Dr. José María Galvez, the head of the department of modern languages, who has been for many years an enthusiastic advocate for North American colleges among the Chilean students. He has been appointed to represent his University as exchange professor this year at the University of California. I am sorry to say that, up to the time of writing, the government has been unable to provide for his coming. This exchange between the universities of Chile and of California is only the beginning of what ought to be developed in every educational center in America. The head of the Normal School of Chile had spent three years in New York studying North American educational systems, as a result of which he has changed his curriculum to conform very largely to that of our own state normal schools.

The time I spent in Santiago was all too short to answer the many requests for interviews with students and educators concerning ways in which closer educational relations with the United States might be established. The President of Chile told me that he was very anxious to have North American educators come to

Chile and asked me to extend a special invitation to certain educators to visit Santiago.

The younger elements in Chile, led by Prof. Enrique Molino, have recently started a new university in Concepcion. Its curriculum is quite different from the more conservative institution in Santiago and emphasizes the modern idea of pedagogy, science and psychology.

Chile has recently become deeply stirred over her problem of illiteracy and has passed a compulsory education law, and provided for the raising of the salaries of the teaching force and the investment of a million dollars a year in new school buildings. The beneficent effects of this new effort are shown in the message of the President in June, 1921, where the following is reported:

Public school instruction has progressed favorably, within the means available to the government.

There are actually in session 3,276 primary schools, with an attendance of 330,059 pupils. The teaching personnel of these schools is 7,455. There are 15 normal schools for teachers, with an attendance of 1,950 pupils. There are 15 daily high schools, with a student body of 2,866; and 29 night schools with an attendance of 5,391 students.

Schools for needle-work, and workshops for manual training such as carpentry, basket-making, binding, weaving, etc., are operating to the number of 878, with an attendance of 115,664 students.

On the 27th of February this year, the law making primary instruction obligatory came into force, and already in the month of March, 87,869 children had matriculated more than in the same month in 1920.

Chile has undertaken to give to her system of education a more practical trend which has brought about great reforms in her primary instruction, beginning with the school manual training classes, perfected in 1918, under the name of primary industrial schools. There has also been established a fourth vocational grade after the sixth primary grade (third) for the purpose of investigating and determining the vocation of the pupils before they leave the primary schools, training them to this end, fitting girls for domestic occupations and boys for the various trades which they have chosen.

In the last meeting held by the Association of National Education the following decisions were made: To state that the basis of

national education and the reform of the secondary courses and better preparation of students entering the university are the purposes of program for primary education as presented to the senate; to urge better and more effective methods in the teaching of primary, secondary, technical and military education; the establishment of rural normal schools for the improvement of country schools and increase of agricultural education; the carrying out of the plans of the board of school control, which includes the teaching of hygiene, the transformation of the liquor industry, and the scientific choice and encouragement of sports; to congratulate President Arturo Alessandri for his address to the university extension and for having assumed the leadership of the movement for the improvement of national life.

In Buenos Aires I found educational conditions most turbulent. The propaganda of the Bolshevists has been more successful here than anywhere else in South America, due, no doubt, to the very large foreign population. The educational system, along with the economic one, has been greatly disorganized, as already stated. For this reason it is difficult to describe the situation more than to say that it is in a state of flux. The disorganization has naturally brought many of the educational leaders to a serious study of North American pedagogy and school administration.

Professor Ernesto Nelson, an influential Argentine educator who has spent a number of years in the United States, has recently published an important work entitled *"Nuestros Males Universitarios,"* in which he compares the North and South American systems and advocates the adoption of the former in large part. Professor Nelson is also president of the *"Universidad Libre,"* an institution which endeavors to bring the teachings and benefits of modern science to the people. While this institution is not competitive with the state universities, yet it and similar movements, show that many educational leaders feel the need of striking out along some new lines. Some of the proposed activities are lectures regarding social and public hygiene, lectures on education in the United States, publication of works on social and educational problems, illustrated lectures on biology, physics and chemistry.

One of the most encouraging things is the way both professors and students have rallied to the movement to help the needy student of Eastern Europe, whose call was recently brought by Mr. Chas. D. Hurrey of the Young Men's Christian Association. In Buenos Aires some of the leading professors are giving liberally

of their time to the compact organization which has been formed for gathering funds. It is probably the first time in their history that Argentine students in a body have taken up a great unselfish cause outside their own borders.

While it is not exactly on the subject of the new educational movements of today, yet because of the splendid illustration it furnishes of how the right kind of North American teachers can help South America, I want to refer here to the establishment of the first normal and kindergarten schools in Argentina.

The great Argentine, Domingo F. Sarmiento, living in exile in the United States, became an intimate friend of Horace Mann and a profound advocate of Mann's theories of education. While in the United States Sarmiento was elected president of his country. One of his first official acts was to commission a Methodist missionary, Dr. Goodfellow, to engage a number of the best North American teachers to come to Argentina to organize a system of public schools. Congress authorized the President's plans. He decided that the first trial of an institution (to be a normal school to prepare teachers for primary instruction), that he believed was to revolutionize his country, be made in the city of Paraná. The whole plan was worked out for President Sarmiento by the eminent North American educator who was called to head this revolutionary educational institution. This great man—great if little known—was Prof. George A. Stearns. He was assisted by his no less remarkable wife, Mrs. Julia A. Stearns, who acted as the principal of the Model School.

The social and political conditions of the country, which was just coming out of anarchy, the unorganized condition of transportation on which pupils from other parts of the country had to depend, the absolute newness of the whole idea wrapped up in the institution, all added to the difficulty of the task and the greatness of the success achieved by Prof. Stearns, of whom everyone in Paraná today speaks as though he were a national hero. The school opened in 1871. There were two teachers and twenty-two students. In the interesting reports made annually by Stearns he says: "The United States cannot claim the honor of having discovered these new methods of teaching; they have been taken from other countries and adapted to our needs. They have given origin to a system of popular education, which has demonstrated by its fruits that it is the best in the world. The great basis of this system is the normal schools . . . What these normal schools

have done for the United States, they should do also for Argentina. The Normal of Paraná is the first of these schools and the money spent in its inauguration is a proof of the wise investment of whatever funds shall be destined for popular education."

The success of Stearns was so marked at Paraná that by a government decree of January 14, 1875, he was transferred to Tucumán to open the second normal. José M. Torres, his successor at the Paraná school, was a great admirer of North American education. The greatest addition to the institution was made in 1884 when it was decided to call Mrs. Sara C. Eccleston to open the first kindergarten in South America. She had graduated with high honors from the Kindergarten Training School of Philadelphia and served with great success in several schools, including the Winona Normal, distinguished for her culture, love of children and ability in teacher training. What an impress has this good woman left on Paraná and all Argentina!

The kindergarten idea spread throughout Argentina. It aroused most strenuous opposition, and attacks through the press and otherwise were most severe. But the demand for teachers was so great that Mrs. Eccleston was called to Buenos Aires to found a training school for kindergarten teachers. Here she carried on her work, until she retired because of age. She continued to live in Buenos Aires, always honored and revered, until her death only three years ago.

With such an inheritance it is no wonder that Paraná is far in advance of many other parts of Argentina in the matter of education. The Normal School now has about a thousand pupils, two hundred and fifty in the normal department and seven hundred and fifty in the Model School. There has just been created by the national government a superior normal course or Teachers' College, which will give a still higher course, preparing teachers for professorships in secondary and professional schools. This "Faculty of the Sciences of Education" is a part of the new "*Universidad Litroal,*" which will have its departments of Medicine and Engineering located in the city of Rosario and the Faculty of Law in the city of Santa Fé. The Faculty of the Sciences of Education has already been opened with a splendid lot of professors, with whom it was my privilege to meet in session, and discuss the plans of the institution. The courses lead to three degrees, Doctor in Philosophy and Pedagogy, Professor in University Teaching and Professor of Secondary, Normal and Special Instruction. Thus it

will be seen that this faculty will provide post-graduate work for the graduates of the Normal, just as Teachers' College of Columbia University provides advanced courses for graduates of our state normal schools.

And so the souls of the Stearns and the Ecclestons and the others who left the comforts of home and friends to come to far away Paraná—their souls go marching on! Some two thousand teachers have been trained here and sent out over South America.

The Republic of Paraguay, 'way up in the heart of South America, with its capital city a thousand miles from Buenos Aires, is hungry indeed for fellowship with the outside world. Paraguay recognizes that friendship with the United States is almost her only hope, for her larger neighbors are interested only in her commercial exploitation. Educational representatives of the United States are sure of a hearty welcome. The proudest possession of the people of Asunción, which is shown to every visitor, is the libarary of twelve hundred of the best American books, recently presented to them by the Carnegie Foundation. This library is housed in the *Instituto Paraguayo*—a splendid organization through which the Paraguayan educators are seeking to do something for the community by means of night classes, gymnasia, etc. At a lecture before this institute I had a reception that will never be forgotten. The President of the Republic, the Minister of Public Instruction and the leading educational figures of the country were greatly interested in discussing how the educational forces of the United States might co-operate more closely with Paraguay in the solution of her difficult educational problems. The *Colegio Internacional,* recently opened by one of the North American mission boards and now having eight American teachers, is looked upon by Paraguayan educators as a great contribution to their life.

Uruguay is not much larger than Paraguay, but it is favorably situated on the Atlantic side of the continent and is in many ways the most progressive republic of Latin America. President Brum is a young man but a few years removed from his student activities. He was a great leader among the students of South America in his college days and is still looked upon by them as their guide and counsellor. He is well known for his advocacy of Pan Americanism and for his rejection of the idea that the United States is desirous of exercising hegemony over all of Latin America. Since this idea has in the past been quite generally

accepted among the student classes, President Brum's repudiation of it has had a most salutary influence. On his trip to the United States in 1917 he took special interest in our educational system and has on many occasions applied American ideas in his own country. Montevideo is the Hague of South America, many international movements having their headquarters there.

The University of Montevideo is one of the most liberal in South America. It maintains close contact with North American educational progress. One of its professors has recently become a secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association and is using his wide influence to get students to come to the United States. A party of these students recently arrived with a special greeting from the university to the Mayor of the City of New York. There are already a number of Uruguayan students in the United States and they are making a splendid name for themselves. They will return home with the power to present North American educational ideals to have them adopted in a larger way than at present. The public schools of Uruguay have recently been reorganized and show many marks of the North American system.

The Brazilian government has shown its desire for closer connections with the United States by a recent law providing for the sending of about one hundred students to our universities each year for special study. It was my privilege not long ago, on receipt of a cable from Brazil, to meet thirty-two of these students, all of whom are now in this country attending various universities and preparing to carry our ideas and ideals back to Brazil.

The two outstanding phases of North American education are, of course, the standardizing of the grade system, covering our primary and secondary courses, and of the college requirements for the baccalaureate degree. It is in these chiefly that our system has differentiated itself from the French, and even from the English. Since the development of these peculiarities seems to have been spontaneous rather than designed, it may reasonably be inferred that there is something in them peculiarly congenial to what in Spanish is called the *ambiente* of the New World. The American physical and social environment and the republican form of government have produced this educational system, developing it out of the basal ideas brought from Europe. Is it not reasonable, therefore, to infer that it will fit into the *ambiente* of other American republics better than will any strictly European order?

Besides, it is inevitable that the educational leaders of Latin

America will more and more get their training in the United States. They will carry back with them not only admiration for our system but, what is even more to the point, a familiarity with its organization and workins which will make it easier for them to strike out on these lines than on any other. The facility with which textbooks and school supplies may be adapted for use in Latin America is a practical matter which will also have a vast influence. It is perhaps not amiss to call the attention of authors and publishers to this immense new market for their standard textbooks.

Nationalistic Tendencies

As said before, I do not wish to give the idea that South American educators are inclined to take over bodily our North American system. Their interest in it is simply to find what is best and adapt it to their own environment.

Some of the leaders of Latin American countries see very plainly that each country should have a national system of education, and that it is a mistake on their part to ape foreign systems that disregard the national character. It is a striking fact that Bolivia, one of the most backward countries of Latin America, hidden away in the center of the continent, without outlet to the sea, has produced a writer who has been called the Rousseau of Latin America. Prof. Franz Tamayo, who has studied the science of education in different countries of Europe and America, has contributed a series of articles on a new national system of education for Bolivia that have attracted much attention all over South America.

"For the last ten years," says Professor Tamayo, "we have followed attentively the evolution of education in Bolivia, both in the minds of the people and in the minds of its directors, and we have come to the conclusion that up to the present time their process of reasoning has been based on one or more false premises, and that we are steering without a compass and without a set course in this matter.

"Judging by these false and puerile standards, the supreme aspiration of our pedagogues would be to make of our new countries new Frances and new Germanys, as if this were possible, disregarding also a biological historical law, which is that history is never repeated, either in politics or in anything.

"Up to the present, this has been a very easy system to follow,

since there has been nothing to do but to copy and trace, not even adapting any particular model to one's needs, but just taking an idea from France or a curriculum from Germany, or vice versa, without the use of ordinary discretion.

"In the meantime we have wasted money and, what is far worse, time. We have made endless regulations and founded several institutions and the main question in the meanwhile remains intact and unanswered.

"We should not go to Europe or anywhere out of Bolivia to solve our pedagogical problem. The question of education is above all a problem of high national psychology.

"It remains then for us to create a national system of education; that is to say, a pedagogy of our own, commensurate to our forces, in accordance with our habits, conforming to our natural tendencies and tastes and in harmony with our moral and physical conditions."

In the four movements discussed are by no means contained all the demonstrations of the new spirit concerning social questions which pervades South America. Little groups for the study of economic problems and for ministering to the community are springing up everywhere. In many cases they are avowed followers of the Soviet. The most widely circulated literature in Argentina is a series of pamphlets called *"El Editorial Adelante,"* which are circulated by the hundreds of thousands. Many of these eulogize the Soviet government in Russia. Another important series of pamphlets is edited by *"Tribuna Libre,"* which for a number of years has published monographs on such subjects as municipal problems, housing problems, socialism in Argentina, capital and justice, technical education for workmen, prison reform. Many of these pamphlets are lectures given before the *"Museo Social Argentino,"* which is the organization that invited President Roosevelt to South America and every year arranges a series of lectures from distinguished foreigners and Argentines on social and international questions.

This reminds one of the general demand from the reading public for a fresh literature. They are weary of erotic French fiction on the one hand and of standardized and rather antiquated philosophy and theology on the other. The hostility of the theologians toward modern science has held back the type of sociological,

pedagogical and humanitarian studies now so general in the Christian world. Latin America has begun to demand her share. Books that help to make it possible to accept modern views of science, of sociology, anthropology, ethics, physics and the rest, without surrendering the Christian faith and without going to the extremes of social anarchy, are coming to be in great demand. No greater service can be rendered to South America than the furnishing of such literature.

V

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

The more one studies the regligious problems of those countries which have as their exclusive religious background that of the Roman Catholic Church, but which are now coming out into a modern life which is opposed to the strict interpretations and limitations of that system, the more he is baffled by the complexity of the question. He easily becomes persuaded that it offers more difficulties than any other religious problem of modern times. The apalling difference between the ideas of the North American and the South American on this subject was brought to me afresh and more intensely at a dinner that I recently attended in the city of Buenos Aires with three of the leading intellectuals of the continent. The published works of one of these gentlemen have already run above the half million mark in a continent where scientific and literary works average an edition of a thousand. As a professor in the university he gave a few years ago a series of lectures on the teachings of Emerson and New England morality, which challenged the youth of Argentina to a new moral life. Another of these gentlemen is the author of the best work on the sociology of Latin America, professor of law in the university, member of one of the supreme courts of Argentina, and a constant public advocate of the necessity of improving the moral atmosphere of his country. The other friend has been for many years a recognized leader in public secondary education in his country. He has written two books describing education in the United States, after a residence of several years in that country, and is a strong factor in the social betterment of his people. All of them read North American literature and keep abreast of the world movements in an exceptional way.

This group might fairly be considered representative of the highest and best of South American intellectual life. We talked for more than three hours, largely about the religious question. But when we finished, I felt we had been talking a wholly different language. Having spent several years in studying the spiritual problems of these countries, I thought that I could appreciate the views of the intellectual, at least. Yet it seemed that we were ten thousand miles apart! "When you ask us to be religious, you are asking us to be immoral. Religion is organized evil. We fight

religion as we fight all other enemies of progress." Thus these men argued. When urged that they should not class all religion with the form that they had known, they replied, in substance: "We understand that you connect religion with morality. And since we, individually, have read your books and know your people, we can, by interrupting our natural chain of thought and explaining to ourselves, understand that you are reasonable, when you ask us to consider religion. But the fact remains that, as South Americans, with the example before us of what religion has been here, we have no interest in, scarcely any patience with, your religious appeal. We desire to be more noble, more honest, more interested in our fellow men, more spiritual, if you please. But we cannot realize naturally in our consciousness, though we might give intellectual assent while you are here to explain, that religion can possibly help in the solution of either our personal or our national problems. You will reach us far better by the appeal which takes us where we are and faces frankly our own situation, as did our great moral preacher, Agustin Alvarez, than you will by suggesting some ethereal matter that takes for granted a religious background which is altogether foreign to us. An appeal to the Bible has no authority with us. As to Christ, we have known Him as either an effeminate sentimentalist or the martyr of a lost cause. If we are to accept Him, He must be shown to us in a different light."

Such I understood to be the main gist of our conversation. But, as I say, I was so confused by the very difference with which we used common terms and the seeming impossibility of making each other understand, that I have never been able to clarify in my own mind the real significance of what they were saying to me. And most probably they had less idea of what I was trying to convey to them. Try as we would to get together, our grandfathers, with all the differences of inheritance, were fighting to keep us apart; and their defeat could not be accomplished except by a process much longer and more exacting than a conversation around a dinner table.

A little while before that dinner in Buenos Aires, I sat in a club in Santiago de Chile with a professor of the university. International relations, labor questions, student exchanges were interestingly discussed. It was midnight when we came to touch the question of the spiritual world and our own attitude toward it. This man is a believer in New England morality and recommends

to his students the reading of the Bible and attendance at Christian schools in the United States. He is a friend of the North American mission schools and a constant advocate of Christian principles. But, when he opened his soul and let me see its own barrenness, the cold, clammy air of the night descended upon me, till I shuddered with the darkness and dampness. Religion, a good thing for society; the Bible, a great literary and moral book; but God, life after this life, communion with a higher Power—all that is only a creation of human fancy! Saddest of all about this friend, whom through the years I have learned to love for his great work for students, is the fact that his background and environment are so hard that it seems almost hopeless to try to find entrance for the warm evangelical truth that would make him a marvelous spiritual power, recognized over the whole continent.

I will not cite more examples of the many conversations held recently in South America with some of the greatest men I have met on any continent, concerning the great problems of the soul—with men who are as earnest as any North American ever dared be in their desire to serve their generation. These illustrations are sufficient to serve as a background to an endeavor to survey briefly the present situation of religion in South America. This endeavor is made in all humility. For it is made, as already intimated, with a conviction that the combination of rapid material progress and sudden contact with the outside world, on the one hand, and the persistence of a mediaeval ecclesiasticism on the other, presents the most difficult religious problem of today. It is also made with a more profound realization than ever before of the great, the baffling difficulty which confronts an Anglo-Saxon, with all his centuries of liberal background, when he tries to understand spiritual conditions in South America, complicated as they are by age-long teachings and disciplines such as no other peoples have experienced.

The Strength and Weakness of the Roman Catholic Church

We are accustomed to speak of the loss of faith in the Church by the men of Latin America to such an extent that we are likely to think that this means that the Church itself is weak and decadent. But the universal testimony gained on my most recent trip is that the Church is at present more active and influential than for many years. It is not gaining in spiritual power and in moral strength, but has awakened to its threatened loss of direction of the nation's life and is moving (one can hardly resist the common

expression, "heaven and hell") every possible piece of machinery to strengthen its hold. I can never forget the repeated references to *"estos Senores"* (these gentlemen) made by a distinguished educationalist who referred to the powers represented in the Cathedral, as we passed that building again and again in our walks around the beautiful *Plaza Mayo* one night, when most other people had retired and we had full field for opening our hearts to each other. What the Cathedral represented to him was the blackest fact in Argentine life. It was an influence that seldom comes out into the open, but whose silent, hidden power is everywhere reaching out to stop any proposed reform movement, social, educational, industrial or religious. It had even been shrewd enough to link up with the radical government, which ordinarily is at the opposite end of the pole from them. But the radical government, composed of the working men largely, untrained in the art of governing, and sadly in need of some force that can exert a stabilizing influence to keep it in power, has been glad to listen to the voice of the hierarchy and form a partnership with it, to hold the country in line.

The Church is making every effort to checkmate the development of various social movements. Its opposition to the workingmen's and student organizations, which have recently united to work for a changed order, has drawn heavy fire from these organizations. This is brought out in a lecture given by Prof. Telémaco Susini, a well known member of the faculty of the University of Buenos Aires, recently before a great crowd of students and workmen in Cordova. The lecture is published in a series of booklets which are circulated by the tens of thousands in Argentina. The title of the lecture is "Social Problems and the Catholic Church." The following extracts from Prof. Susini's lectures may be looked upon as the general attitude of these important groups toward the Church; though it must be recognized that the Church has itself succeeded in organizing other groups of students who, under the direction of the clergy, fight for the Church.

"I salute you with more enthusiasm because, as I have said on other occasions, the University movement in Cordova has been the beginning of a social revolution which has brought about unity of action between the workmen and the students. I salute you, united in one desire, the love of humanity, and in the indomitable

purpose to constitute an immovable wall against which will be shattered all the serried attacks of corruption and violence of your common enemy. This union has been made the basis of attacks on the students. With the principle that the end justifies the means, the enemy has called the workmen anarchists and thereby has stigmatized the student movement as tending toward anarchism. Hence the contention that the government ought to apply the law to the workmen and stop the reforms in university organization. Besides this, but with the same object in view, two organizations have been created for the purpose of combatting this alleged anarchy and threatened disorder, to wit: the Argentine Catholic Union, which is to bring us social peace by means of reciting prayers, and the Argentine Patriotic League, which, for its part, is to bring peace by means of violence in combination with the Catholic Union, with which it is so clearly identified*."

According to a leading Argentine citizen, one of the most powerful influences in his country is the body of alumni of the Jesuit College of Buenos Aires. No public position is filled without their having a hand in it; no bill is presented to Congress without their attitude being made felt; no educational change is proposed without taking steps to shape it according to their liking.

The circle of higher class women is another powerful force used by the clergy to kill any new movement that apparently tends to cast reflection on the old order. The inside machinations of the priests, which generally direct the "Women's Clubs" of the higher classes are so full of narrowness and deceit that it is a standing wonder that they can "put it over."

The development of the temperance movement in Argentina is full of illustrations of the way the Church tries to control modern movements, when it sees they are inevitable. The higher class women have become very much interested in the movement, as have the middle class. The *"Damas Distinguidas"* have heretofore spurned association with the school teacher class who were working for the common cause of temperance. Yet the *"Damas"* were recently led by their clerical advisors to combine with the teacher organization with the object of eliminating the Protestant

* The Catholic Union is a kind of Knights of Columbus that represents the Catholics in public matters. The Argentine Patriotic League is an organization of conservative forces that makes itself responsible for the persecution of liberal forces.

secretary sustained by a North American temperance organization, and get control of the building that it was proposed to erect to house the various temperance activities. It was considered a great triumph recently when a Roman Catholic clergyman appeared on the same platform with the Methodist bishop in Buenos Aires on the occasion of a reception to the visiting president of the North American society. But the inside story of the machinations of the clericals, so that the whole affair might resound to the glory of the Church, are beyond belief among circles uninformed on these matters.

In Buenos Aires the Church is finding many ways to checkmate the rapid growth of the Young Men's Christian Association, which with nearly 4,000 members and its influence reaching out through the university, business and industrial circles, is becoming dangerous. So the recent encyclical of the Pope against the Association was used by the clergy to create a fresh attack. One of the small ways in which this attack became evident was in a movement for bringing cheer to the inmates of the city hospitals recently, one of the many evidences of the awakened altruism of the Argentines. The Young Men's Christian Association was requested to join the movement, as was the president of a large Roman Catholic Woman's Society. As soon as the latter found that the Association had accepted, her own support and that of her society were withdrawn.

The effect of this constant fighting of everything outside of the Church easily explains the attitude of the intellectuals, already described. When young men who are members of the Association and understand its broad program of service, hear their mothers telling about checkmating the organization here and there, at the direction of their parish priests, the young men are naturally disgusted with the Roman Church. But they are probably not in position to appreciate the need of following up the evangelical side of religion. For it must be remembered that if they should choose to go to some evangelical church, they would likely find the service most distasteful to them, with its bleak and foreign surroundings and its preaching directed to a congregation which is of much lower intelligence and accustomed to a terminology entirely foreign to the student.

In Brazil, as in Argentina, the Church is working with other conservative forces to develop the spirit of nationalism and to exclude all movements that look toward progress and world rela-

tions. In the name of patriotism, the most reactionary programs are being fostered. A few illustrations will show how varied these efforts are. One is against the Portuguese, especially the fishermen, who have long made their center in Brazil, and are among the most industrious people in the country. The movement has become so strong that one of the dailies of Rio de Janeiro has taken up the fight for the Portuguese and is showing up what is really back of the movement. Recently the bishop of Marianna issued a pastoral in which he said that the North American missionaries were secret employees of the United States government, working for "peaceful penetration" of the Yankees. While charges of this kind have often been made by parish priests, this public declaration of a bishop was considered serious enough for the American ambassador to deny it in an open letter. The Protestants in Brazil, who now count among their friends and membership some of the best people of the country, are planning to request the national senate to open an inquiry on the subject so that the public may learn the whole truth about the matter. The fact that the Evangelical Church in Brazil has largely grown away from the leadership of foreigners and is very much of a Brazilian institution, with its own national leadership of recognized power, makes this kind of a statement particularly obnoxious. The following are extracts from this pastoral:

"To entrust children to heretical teachers or to heterodox schools, is to put them on the direct road to eternal condemnation. Fathers and mothers you would never send your children, for any consideration in the world, to the house of small-pox, leprous or consumptive patients, for fear of their contracting the sickness and losing their lives. How have you the heart to send them to schools where almost certainly they are to lose their faith and life eternal? Parents who act thus, commit a very grave sin against the love and care that they owe their children, and are traitors to God, who entrusted the children to them that they might be put in the way of His service and to heaven, whereas they really put them in the way of the service of His enemies and to hell. Such parents incur, in a special way, the greater excommunication reserved to the Pope, seeing they are factors of heresy, because entrusting children to those schools is a manifest protection given to the same and to the cause for which it strives.

"Above this reason of natural order, which for a Christian ought

to be above all reasons, there is one of human order, which for us Brazilians speaks louder than the highest of earthly considerations: it is the love of our country, Brazil. If we desire a country truly free, mistress of her own destiny and governing herself, by herself, with dependence on, or wardship from, no nation whatsoever, however friendly such an one may be proclaimed to be, we cannot favor, but rather oppose a tenacious and irreconcilable resistance to the Protestant propaganda, whose principal end in view is to establish the North American dominion in our Brazil. Of this, there is today no possible doubt and the only one who will not confess it is the one who has some interest in dissimulating what is before the eyes of all.

"It is not the love of the truth that induces the American sects to spend in their Protestant propaganda sums so large that they mount up to millions of dollars. If it is the love of their neighbor and the love of God that brings them to be missionaries to us, as with badly dissimulated feigning they affirm, why do they not make use of this charity in bringing to better terms the unfaithful who abound in the United States more than in any other country in the world that calls itself Christian? From the statistics of that Republic it is known that there are living there sixty millions of men without religion, without baptism, with no religious belief. There are more heathen there than in all the other American republics put together. In Brazil we are all (na totalidado) baptized, by the grace of God, and almost all believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and profess the Catholic religion, in which we were born and in which we want to die. Protestants know perfectly that we are saved in our religion, just as we know that for them salvation is impossible, unless it be that an invincible good faith may defend them at the divine judgment seat."

The most successful reactionary movement has been one which the hierarchy has initiated in education, which it is thought has for its object the putting of all schools, both private and public, under a course of study that will effectually shut out foreign ideas and maintain the status quo of all instruction. The first movement toward this has already been made and has resulted in the closing of the Departments of Pharmacy and Dentistry of Granbery College, a Methodist school that for a quarter of a century has been recognized both by the Brazilian government and the public as a most useful and modern educational institution. The closing of these schools was secured by demanding, according to

some forgotten "blue law," the maintenance of a corps of national professors three times as large as at present. It being financially impossible to comply with the demand, the schools had to close. The same action is now being taken against Mackenzie College, a still better known evangelical school, which counts among its graduates many of the outstanding government officials and professional men of Brazil. The question was being warmly debated in the daily papers when I was in Brazil, the first days of June, 1921. The new educational law was soon to be reported and the educational leaders in liberal circles were getting ready to study it carefully, not only in general principle, but especially for the "jokers" which would be hidden away in insignificant phrases, to be interpreted for the limitation of freedom when the proper time arrived.

It seems strange that liberal forces in Brazil, where the constitution provides for separation of Church and State and where the movement of Positivism grew so strong in the early days of the republic, this country being the only one in America where a Positivist church was actually built, are now fearing a great sweep of reaction and fanaticism. On the other hand, in countries like Peru, Chile and Paraguay, where there has been not only a state Church but a very strong clerical influence, there is now a strong liberal current.

In Paraguay one of the most exciting measures before the present Congress is a divorce law. This was introduced as the result of a widely advertised scandal, when a priest in Asuncion ruined a young woman of his parish. The Church is fighting the divorce law, as it always does. It represents a dangerous break from authority. Noted ecclesiastical orators from Buenos Aires have recently been brought to Asuncion to give public lectures on questions of religious authority. Some of the liberals believe that not only will the divorce law be passed, but that there will soon follow the separation of Church and State. A footnote on this question was the recent withdrawal of permission of the Protestant forces to have open air meetings in the plaza. When their cause was championed by the local press the permission was restored, and the meeting attended by great crowds of liberal sympathizers, who afterward went to the preacher and asked to join his organization "because they were against the Catholics" (a proposition which the minister of course refused, explaining that this was not what his organization represented). A foreign

priest told me that he hoped the Church would be disestablished as that was the only way it would develop any strength. He said that at present the Church only received some $25,000 pesos Paraguayan annually from the State, and the limitations which the State imposed made the bargain unprofitable to the Church. This priest was strong in his condemnation of the Church in Paraguay. He said there were a number of saints in Paraguay not known to the rest of the Catholic world, and that the baptismal records of his parish showed about eighty per cent. of the children illegitimate.

In Uruguay the Constitution adopted in 1917 provided for the separation of Church and State. Many believe that this has been a great benefit to the Church, which now for the first time has its own Archbishop and seemingly is commanding a more loyal support from its membership. The head of the Catholic party in Uruguay is one of the most noted authors and most honored citizens of South America, Dr. Juan Zorilla de San Martin. One of his sons is a priest and Dr. Zorilla himself gives much time to the affairs of the Church. He is one of the few intellectuals of the continent who is frankly and enthusiastically a Catholic and a supporter of the Church as it exists in his own country. There is no question that he is a pious Christian who believes earnestly in his Church and is willing to sacrifice for it. During my recent visit at his study he excused himself twice to have brief conferences with priests, who came to consult him on matters of the Church. The recent loss of the support of the State has probably made men like Dr. Zorilla still more loyal in giving personal support.

In Chile the reform government was elected on a platform which contained a plank demanding the separation of Church and State. The fight for other more pressing, if not more important, reforms and the very close balance of power between Liberals and Conservatives will probably prevent this issue being brought up in the present administration. But the question of the Church's power will be at issue in almost every question that Congress faces in the next few years. The Civil Marriage Law has just been strengthened by a declaration that in every case, the civil ceremony must be celebrated first, the religious ceremony to follow, when desired.

The three great movements toward modern life, which are now most prominent in Chile, the labor movement, the temperance movement and the feminist movement, are all full of

dynamite for the Church. And no one is so aware of it as the hierarchy. The labor movement, of course, carries with its attack on all predatory interests an open fight on the Church, which is one and the same in leadership as the hundred or more families of the aristocracy which have ruled Chile in the past. The temperance movement, supported by labor and the present government, is opposed by the Church because, for one reason, it has extensive vineyards, the wines from which contribute largely to its revenues. As for the feminist movement, independence of women would mean the losing of the great stronghold of the Church, which, in the past has held fast when all others have failed. Since the reform government favors all three of these movements which have ramifications running into every problem of national life, it can be easily seen that Chile is in for a very severe struggle around the Church problem during the next few years. As the clergy in that country has been of the highest intellectual and moral order of any in Latin America, and the influence of the Church has been therefore relatively of a high order, it can be seen that this fight will be of more than national interest.

In Peru, the most important book of the year is one entitled "The First Century," with the sub-title "Geographical, Political and Economic Causes That Have Affected the Moral and Material Progress of Peru in the First Century of Her Independence." It is a frank and enlightening study by Pedro Davalos y Lissón. In his chapter on religion, the author speaks first of how the Church has fallen from its ancient glory. He then calls attention to the very low classes from which the priests are drawn today. Since the Church lacks its former prestige, none of the best families wish their sons to enter the priesthood, hence only the poorest, from the interior towns, become candidates. "Those of us who were born under Divine favor and who still give warmth in our hearts to the beauties and sweetness of religion see with deep pain the way that this spiritual world is disappearing," says this author, a faithful Catholic. As to the priests in the country districts, while some of them do right, most of them are only interested in enriching themselves. They do nothing toward the social and moral betterment of the Indians, who remain in the same ignorance and superstitution as they were in the early colonial days.

He continues as follows: "The attacks which the faithful make on their own priests are continual. The loss of a sacred object,

the removal of a picture from the church, or the removal to the sacristy of some saint that had a preferred place on the altar, causes violent outbreaks on the part of the believers, which cause the priests to hide themselves or seek the protection of the civil authorities. Certainly the faith that our country people have in their priests' honor is not very great, since they attack them and treat them like Church robbers, whenever anything disappears from the Church.

"There is little to say about the labor of our Peruvian bishop. His virtue and his consecration find an insuperable obstacle in the spiritual quality of his sheep and the ignorance and vulgarity of a large part of his subordinates, the priests. As there is a great scarcity of clergy in Peru and therefore few priests who dispute the rights to a parish, the displacement of a priest is the most difficult of disciplines. It is necessary that a curé be completely lost in vice before he is dismissed. What do the bishops not see in the visits of inspection! What prudence and wisdom, what patience and toleration they need to remedy things, when they can be remedied by kind and indirect means! What other proceedings are they able to use among a people brutalized by alcohol, fornication, isolation, laziness, fanaticism and the most complete ignorance of the evangelical spirit?

"If the major part of our bishops are given to fomenting the prestige of the Church, there are not lacking those who are high handed and fond of controversy with the Protestants and Liberals, answering them from the pulpit and through the press. The evil results and the scandal caused by such proceedings are evident. . . . These fighting bishops still excommunicate their members. This exclusion, which generally is accompanied by severe orders that the sacraments be withheld from those expelled from the Church, has given rise to disorders which made necessary the use of the police, especially when the fanatical elements have arisen in hostile attitude against the Indians of the highlands to exterminate them and their kinspeople after they have been robbed of their possessions. . . . While such things occur frequently in the country, in Lima it may be said there are no saints. Yet we have heard the fanatical women and sacristans assured that in the Prado Church there is a crucified Christ that continually sweats."

Peru has recently passed a law concerning civil marriage and divorce, which provides for the imprisonment of the clergyman

who performs a marriage without previously demanding the civil certificate. This law was of course greatly opposed by the hierarchy.

Yet the Church occupies at present a stronger position politically than it has done for years. The most prominent representative of clericalism in Peru has been recently appointed president of the Chamber of Deputies, and the President of the republic is a strong conservative who has already shown signal favors to the Church. Among other things he vetoed the new divorce law referred to above, and modified in the interests of clerical education the original draft of the new law of instruction. While it is the case that the Roman Catholic Church is so menacingly strong politically, there are absolutely no signs of any renewed spiritual vigor within the pale of the native Peruvian Church. In a recent conversation with an Augustinian friar he declared that there was no such thing in Peru as truly spiritual life or conviction, that the apparent devotion to the Church was nothing more than a mixture of tradition and social convenience. It is affirmed on the testimony of some of the most impartial and thoughtful Peruvians that the present dearth in Peru of outstanding public leaders of a robust liberal type, men willing to sacrifice everything for their principles, is due to the fact that the present generation of politicians and literary men has been educated almost exclusively in clerical institutions. It is a strange fact that the special ambassador sent by the Argentine to represent that republic on the occasion of the recent centennial celebrations in Peru should be the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Buenos Aires.

The Church's power is shown in different ways. A young Peruvian who recently graduated from the University of Wisconsin, on returning to Lima with his new ideas, started a paper for children, probably the first one of the kind ever published in that country. It was immediately recognized by parents and teachers as a most important help in the development of the children. But it was printed at an evangelicall shop. This was sufficient for the Church's disapproval. Although the priest assigned to the matter admitted that there was nothing about the paper that was sectarian, and that its articles all had a good moral and spiritual tone, the paper must be killed. And killed it was. One of the three women in Peru who believe sufficiently in the emancipation of women to advocate the matter in public, is struggling along with a little school where she trains girls to

make hats, dresses and other things to give them economic independence, as well as giving them a modern intellectual development. But because she refuses to let the priest come and give religious instruction, and will not take her girls to mass, she is deprived of help, and is obliged to pay the extra expenses for the school out of her own small income from her family. Some little time ago the priests, knowing of her influence, offered to make her the director of a paper for women, give her a modern press, and assure her of an income of $500 per month, if she would put in the editorials they brought to her already written. She refused to be a party to any transaction that would not give her freedom to express her liberal ideas. The Minister of Instruction has just offered her the directorship of one of the big Girls' Normal Schools. At first she thought she must accept. But afterward she realized that this would mean that her own little school would then have to close, and she herself would have to allow the priests to come to the government school, under her direction, and give religious instruction. If she resisted, as she would be compelled to do, she would have the Church against her and most probably be discharged. Again she decided to stay with her own little school and fight the tremendous opposition of the Church, which is able to cut off all her support except the little she gets from the poor girls who attend the school and the amount she herself can put into it.

As has been said elsewhere: "Peru will find as other Latin American countries have found, that they cannot go far in developing any kind of democratic life till they have an open fight with the Church to compel her to keep her hands out of politics. Just as Lincoln said, that it is impossible for a people to live half slave and half free, so it is impossible for a nation to have political liberty and ecclesiastical domination. Peru is still too saturated with the Jesuitical spirit in Church and State to have produced the leaders necessary to construct a really honest, conservatively liberal regime. With such a wonderful history and such a long line of brilliant men, with such a splendid list of idealists, Peru is coming to the celebration of the centenary of her independence with a realization that she has few actual accomplishments to celebrate. It is a sad situation. For one will find no more lovable, no more idealistic, no more brilliant and attractive people anywhere than are the Peruvians. As friends, as traveling companions, as members of an intellectual circle, as Don Quijotes, ready to issue

forth to help the weak, their superiors are not to be found. But the *dynamic* is not there. In this hundredth year of Peruvian independence, with all their great political, social, economic, educational and spiritual problems before them, there does not seem to be one man who towers above the multitude like the Apostle Paul, and says 'I can do things.' For there is not one of Peru's great men that would think of saying 'through Christ, who strengtheneth me.' Peru's Christ is a dead Christ. It is the 'Sweating Image' that is carried in a casket, weak, defeated, crying for pity."

The objections of well balanced liberals of South America is fairly summed up in the following words of Agustin Alvarez, often called the Emerson of South America, and probably the most influential moral philosopher the continent has produced:

"This liberal Protestantism, leaving to man his aptitude and amplitude for lay progress, has formed the colonizing races which, by their greater resources dominating nature and exploiting the soil, have enriched and extended themselves to all continents. In the same way Catholicism, repudiating profane science, and captured by attention to public worship, has separated the best energies of man, has withdrawn him from improved means of agriculture, commerce and industry, from personal cleanliness and public sanitation, from earthly justice and civil morality.

"The Metropolis did us greater harm by prohibiting in America the cultivation of ideas and the sentiments of tolerance than it did us by prohibiting the cultivation of the vine and the olive. If the primary cause of the progress of man is the thought of man which modifies his sentiments and forms his character, a man limits his progress in the degree to which he limits his thought. So the fundamental cause of the backwardness of Spanish America, and of Spain itself was, and is yet, the restriction of thought by an absurd religion.

"The spirit cultivated by one idea only, like the field sown with only one seed, cannot produce more than one kind of fruit, one kind of ideas and sentiments, the same that have been sown. The Disciple of the Jesuit, with one side of his spirit filled with narrow ideas, and the other empty; with lights aglow and lights prohibited, is like a nun, the nun with a lean spirit, half in darkness and half in superstition—as Renan defines her, 'Very religious, and at the same time very little instructed, consequently very superstitious.'

A mule with an unbalanced load, which leans constantly to the side of the greater weight, finally leaves the road, and strikes across the country. Thus the political or religious sectarian, unbalanced by his one-sided provision of ideas, abandoning the right road, traversing foreign territory, is comparable to intellectual mules unevenly loaded with good and bad ideas. Thus narrow and superstitious Catholicism, the open enemy of profane science, and the advocate of lay ignorance, develops a spirit incapable of self-government, because it is educated in dogmatic intolerance and spiritual slavery, which are the spiritual father and mother of this Spanish perverseness which we knew in 1810 and the Cubans knew in 1900. In the same way liberal Protestantism develops those spirits with self-rule, tolerant in action because they are educated to be tolerant in thought."

Strictures of this kind are among the influences that are bringing about a decided reaction in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church in South America. It is difficult to tell how far the reactionary movements in the different South American countries are part of a thought-out plan on the part of the Papal authorities to regain absolute spiritual and political domination in these countries. I can only speak for what I know is taking place in Peru, or rather indicate certain facts that appear to be symptomatic of a definite policy.

One of the most significant facts in the religious life of Lima is the activity of a group of French priests of the order of La Recoleta—an order founded shortly after the French Revolution,—whose aim has been to take a practical interest in the social problems of the community. It appears that, as a result of the closing of the monasteries in France some twenty years ago, a wave of new life passed over the Roman Catholic Church in that country. The watchword of the new movement became "Action," and a supreme effort has been made to win the youth of France for the Church. In recent years the movement has become intensified and two of its most interesting phases are, on the one hand, the publication of apologetic works in defense of orthodox views of the Scriptures and fundamental Church doctrines; and, on the other, a supreme emphasis upon simple evangelical doctrines, such as, "The Life in Jesus Christ." Some of the organs of this movement are: "Revue des Jeunes," "Revue Pratique D' Apologetique," and "Les Cahiers." So far as one can learn not

only have many of the finest youth of France been won but not a few prominent literary men, who have definitely embraced a religious life.

I have not been able to find out just how far this movement is affecting South American Catholicism in general. The following facts, however, are significant; the group of French priests alluded to founded in 1918 the Catholic University of Peru; they have recently begun to publish a weekly pamphlet called "Catholic Action"; under their auspices lectures have been given at different times on social and religious problems; and a few months ago a special course of apologetics for women was inaugurated in the Catholic University. It is also worth while observing that a number of the leading writers of the new generation today, such as, the brothers García Calderon were educated by priests. There can be little doubt that it is only a matter of time until the Roman Catholic Church of France will begin an active campaign in the New World. Whether it has a strong enough dynamic ever to galvanize the Catholicism of South America, with its encrustations of creolian superstitions, is a debatable question. But one thing is certain that South America will become a chosen mission field for progressive French Catholicism, and the battlefield where the dogmatic conflict of ages as to the relative spiritual claims of Romanism and Evangelicalism must be decided pragmatically; and surely no true Christian who prays "Thy Kingdom come," can be indifferent as regards the issue of the conflict.

The Moral Situation

The lack of interest in the moral question is one of the most discouraging things in South American life. The dean of a law school recently declared that the faculty had nothing to do with the moral life of the student. In fact the universities take no official cognizance of the moral life of the student body. There is no directory kept of the students and the faculty have no idea where they live or what kind of lives they lead outside the class room. There are no dormitories. Students from out of town may live in a boarding house or may club together with other students in unsupervised quarters which too often have women connected with them, or they may live in any way, attending classes or not as they may see fit. So long as they present themselves for examination, no questions are asked. There are, of course, notable exceptions to this rule, institutions in which indi-

vidual professors and officers of a university take a personal interest in the lives of the students. Where this is the case the young men have been splendidly responsive.

The sexual problem among the students is, of course, most difficult. Fortunately there is noticeable here and there an awakening on this subject among the government medical and educational authorities. An Argentine sociologist has recently put the case of the youth and his father in this way: "Fathers desire to make their boys 'men' at an early age. In place of prolonging their innocence and their indifference to sexual matters they do all they can to develop them. Boys of twelve are dressed in long trousers, taught the vile language of the street, instructed how to act in certain situations with women, familiarized with vice through conversation and example, and finally are directly encouraged toward it by the introduction of young girl servants into the house, the object of which is made clear. This is the explanation of the singular precocity of our youth. At fifteen to eighteen years of age they have nothing more to learn."

The vices of gambling and drinking are shown by statistics, in those countries where obtainable, to be greatly on the increase. In Buenos Aires the amount wagered on horse racing rose from $27,474,626 in 1904 to $120,824,309 in 1913, (Argentine pesos). The lottery in Argentina sold tickets amounting to $1,000,000 in 1893, and to $38,175,000 in 1913. In the same way criminal cases grew in Buenos Aires from 9,273 in 1909, to 14,984 in 1913. All of these increases are entirely out of proportion to the growth of the population in the periods mentioned.

In Uruguay an extensive study of alcoholism has recently been made by the Director of Municipal Statistics, Dr. Juaquin de Salterain, in which he says that there are 10,000 places in the republic where liquor is sold, 3,000 in the capital and 7,000 in the rural districts. This makes one drinking place for every 128 people, France alone surpassing this record with one for each 72 inhabitants. Germany has one for every 246 people, England one for every 430, and Switzerland one for every 5,000.

Referring to another moral problem, Agustin Alvarez says: "Sarmiento said that the greatest evil of Argentina was its great extent. But railroads have eliminated this evil and unified the country. Today the evil which besets the Republic is the lie, and it is necessary to work without rest to emancipate us from

this detestable South American institution, three-fourths Indian and four-fourths barbarian." In this connection it is interesting to note the phrase used commonly to assure the truth of a statement or to emphasize being on time for an appointment *"palabra de inglés,"* and *"hora inglés,"* meaning "word of an Englishman" and "English hour."

The Director of the National Library of Peru, Dr. Deustua, says:

"Spain conquered Peru only to enrich herself, organizing a colony in which all, absolutely all, looked toward this end. . . . When we attained our political liberty, the leaders of the Republic, without preparation for political life directly opposite to that of the colony, without force to create new forms of life, without other models than those offered by Spain, continued the same utilitarian régime which had originated all the disasters of our national life. Morality, true morality, has not reigned in the higher circles, and the country, which needs a heroic and continual struggle to grow into a real entity, free from the past, has swung from dictator to revolution, which have engendered reciprocally the same political evils. This is why we find ourselves today stripped of real civilization—not because we find ourselves without powerful industries, exploited a thousand times by commerce, but because we find ourselves without the moral power necessary to organize ourselves and govern ourselves as a free people."

In matters of pure culture there is probably no country in America that excels Peru. But poetry and philosophy and *belles lettres* have failed to educate the Indian, fell the forests, bridge the rivers, build railroads or create a body politic fit for self-government and self-development. This has become so evident to the Peruvians that it has become an obsession with them. As Sr. Pedro Davilas y Lissón says: "Unfortunately our pessimism is everywhere in evidence. Lamentation is the fashion, not the old men but the youthful constituting the great majority of the alarmists. The spirit of depression in which the young men live is so great, their enthusiasm is so suppressed, they find so few disposed to struggle and so many incapacitated to work for a great and prosperous Peru that they themselves have no dreams, no faith in their own power."

Dr. Javier Prado, rector of San Marcos, a scholar of the first order, and the owner of the finest private museum that it has ever

been my privilege to see in any part of the world, recently said: "Peru after having been the seat of most wonderful civilizations, a center of government and of opulence during the Spanish domination, has not developed during the hundred years of her autonomy in any adequate way her sources of natural vitality and economic well-being; nor in the social and political order has she formed a vigorous and organized national life corresponding to the greatness of her past and to the progress obtained by other American peoples. Moral energies have been suppressed. Spiritual oxygen is lacking in the environment of a people who so frequently show themselves sick in thought and sick in will."

Dr. Manuel Cornejo, a well-known statesman, says: "The Peruvians are a sick people. This is revealed by all their history, which shows chronic disturbance. And this continuous upheaval cannot be ascribed to the disorder of growth. For in Peru, unlike other South American countries, we have a regressive evolution: We were more, now we are less; they were less, now they are more."

A remarkable book recently brought to my attention is *"Moral para Intellectuales,"* written by Carlos Vaz Ferreira, the professor of philosophy in the University of Montevideo. It consists of a series of lectures given to the students of his class in the university, printed in the delightfully informal way in which he presented them. "Among the possible moral books," says this exemplary man, who is evidently intensely interested in the moral life of his students, "is one that some day I would like to write on 'Morals for Intellectuals.' For moral questions assume a very specific character for those who follow the different professions; first, because every environment has different moral problems and, second, because the more highly developed the intelligence, the greater and more complicated become the moral problems. This book would follow these fundamental lines: First it would consider the special problems created by the intellectual life and then it would pursue the practical object of clarifying moral principles already admitted rather than attempt the creating of new ones."

The first theme that Prof. Ferreira treats in these practical discussions with his students is the need of a broad culture. He goes into the matter of the evils of the examination system, which compel the student to think of getting over a certain amount of ground, rather than of comprehending certain principles, thus

creating a tendency to look at the outward and not at the inward problems of life as those of most importance. In order to have a broad culture the student should not only study his texts, but should read a certain number of books suggested. A list of thirty is given with the suggestion that the students might acquire them as a common library and read an average of five each year, thus completing the thirty as they complete their university course. The following books are listed by the professor. He says that they are not to be regarded as the thirty "greatest" books, since any such arbitrary selection would be ridiculous.

Guyau: Irreligion of the Future; Art from the Sociological Point of View; English Contemporary Morality; Problems of Ethics; Outline of a Moral System Without Obligation or Sanction; Education and Heredity.

Fouillée: History of Philosophy; Reform of the Teaching of Philosophy; Morality.

Hoffdings: Ethics; History of Modern Philosophy; Contemporary Philosophers.

William James: Principles of Psychology; Varieties of Religious Experience.

Radot: Life of Pasteur.

Mills: Studies on Religion; Logic.

Bergson: Creative Evolution.

Paul de Saint Victor: Men and Gods.

Anatole France: Garden of Epicurus; Literary Criticism.

The Four Gospels.

Payot: Education of the Will.

Montaigne: Essays.

Rodó: Ariel.

One who studies this list of books will make several interesting discoveries. First he will note the overwhelming predominance of French writers, nine out of fourteen. Most of these French authors are at least well enough known to us to realize that they are far from breathing that warm evangelical faith with which we should like to have our young men come in contact. The United States, England and Germany are each represented by one author. Only the one from the United States can be classed as having "religious tendencies." Only one of the authors is a South American, Rodó of Uruguay. He preached a kind of glorified combination of Hellenism and Christianity as the ideal

religion needed by the Latin American youth, who must guard against North American materialism and develop an idealist culture.

No doubt Professor Ferreira would have referred to books in a class with "Rational Living," by Henry Churchill King, if such existed in Spanish; but they do not. In a report rendered to the Second Continental Convention of the Y. M. C. A. of South America is the following statement: "In reference to the reading of religious books, it may be said that practically there are few such books. There are no modern religious books of positive value, either Protestant or Catholic. Those which the churches have published have been generally a defense of their own creeds. The works of moralists which exist in Spanish are translations. The moral ideas of young men are those they find in their surroundings, without any effort at changing them. There are certain writers such as Alvarez, Peyret, Rodó, etc., who have endeavored to change the atmosphere, calling attention to other aspects of life, especially the moral, but their efforts have been isolated and have not formed at all a school of thought following the moral point of view."

The list of preferred authors writing on moral topics made up by readers in Argentina is as follows: French: Ribot, Bergson, Boutroux, Roussea, Renouvein; English: Spencer, Mills, Bain Locke; German: Schopenhauer, Hegel, Frichte, Kant, Wunt, Nietzche; Italian: Ordigo, Vico, Croce; American: William James.

The rector of an Argentine university recently said: "Ten thousand people do the thinking for Argentina. There may be a hundred thousand who read French novels, but the reading of serious works is very limited." The number of publications in Buenos Aires, however, is stupendous, as can be readily seen by glancing at one of the newsstands found on nearly every corner in the city. Even in 1910 in the province of Buenos Aires there were 12,229 publications, including forty-six dailies.

The awakening of public officials to their responsibility in the matter of reading is seen, if faintly, in the following words from the message of a mayor of Buenos Aires: "The municipality is a factor of civilization. As such it should encourage all progressive social movements and discourage retrogressive movements of vice, gambling and waste of time. If for this reason we encourage sport and the physical development of the people, it is

of no less importance that we foster public libraries as centers for intellectual diversion."

In this message the mayor asks for the sum of 50,000 pesos, of which 20,000 is for the formation of "university extension" libraries and 16,000 for twenty children's libraries. He announces that there are now in the city thirty public libraries containing 336,436 volumes. These had last year 173,682 readers and 85,555 books loaned for home use. Certainly this is not a good showing for a city of nearly two million people.

Returning to the lectures of Professor Ferreira, we find that they are largely taken up with the moral problems of the lawyer, the physician, the journalist and the public official. The difficult moral situation in which each one of these professions places men is clearly and sympathetically treated. The inheritances of ages which permeate the atmosphere surrounding these professions with untruth and misrepresentation are clearly stated and adherence to moral principles demanded. Anyone who wishes to understand the moral stress under which the professional classes live will here find it graphically described. Of course the temptations of a lawyer or a physician in South America are shown to be much what they are in North America or in any other part of the world. Yet it is very clear that these professions have not advanced as far in liberating themselves from these professional sins, and that they are far more a matter of common acceptance in South America than in Anglo-Saxon countries. The ease with which common phrases are given and accepted in cases where each of the parties knows they are not true, is astonishing.

A higher morality than is held up by Professor Ferreira could not be found in any treatment of ethics written by an Anglo-Saxon evangelical. We would naturally suppose that the author would place emphasis upon what we consider the basis of the highest morality—Christianity. Not so; religion to him is of such minor importance that he only gives ten pages of his two hundred to the consideration of *"systems of morality,"* one of which, says the professor, is Christianity:

"Is it my hope, and in general is it desirable, that each one, in order to get the best moral results, should adopt a certain moral system? I think not. Really all my endeavors in this class, into which I have put such devotion, have tended to show that the important thing is not to adopt a school of thought but a state of spirit. . . . Although it is not necessary to select any moral

system, we will say frankly, in outline, what we think of the principal ones, which are the systems of religion, of metaphysics and of positivism. I have already, in other courses of lectures, endeavored to describe the good and bad practices of religious systems. Here I only wish to insist, and without desire to force my attitude on you, but simply to comply most frankly with duty, on the following point: We always distinguish the different effect of religion on the actions first, on the humble and uneducated, and second, on the more cultured classes. With rspect to the common argument that religion is a bridle or restraint for the simple minded, I only express my contempt. Many people consider themselves without the need of religion, but believe the great majority need it not to sin—or in order not to be dangerous. This is simply the lowest kind of a theory, but it has its counterpart in a much more subtle one. Renan, for instance, does not believe personally in the divinity of Christ, but says that the belief will always persist. This is an aristocracy not to my liking, this dividing the world in two parts, first myself and a few others who can arrive at my elevated plane of thought, and second the world of sinners.

"In regard to the restraining effect of religion on the masses, there is probable exaggeration both on the side of those who believe that religion restrains people from evil actions and also on the side of those who believe that religion tends to keep people in degradation and ignorance. Generally what happens to men of little education and little morality is that they keep their religion in one place and their morality, good or bad, in another place.

"I will cite an example. When our first child was born, the physician obliged me to secure a wet nurse for it and the nurse's child was left with another family. One day I heard that the nurse's child was very ill. On calling, I found the family that was paid to take care of it was absolutely indifferent, had done nothing to relieve it and had not even called a doctor. I took the baby to my own home and cared for it, but in spite of all that could be done the baby died. Then the couple from whose neglect the child had died came to my home and created a disgraceful scene. Why? Why, because the mother was about to bury the baby without baptism! Now I do not believe that these people were hypocrites. It was simply their religion had had little moral effect, either good or bad.

"Let us look at the religion of the intellectuals, or the higher

forms of the positive religions, at least the forms *called* higher. Among the intellectuals who still remain afflicted with positive religions there is a much more liberal spirit. This liberal spirit has come to be practically the official attitude in certain religions which are reputed to be higher, such as Protestantism, which admits freedom of thought, and the Modernist movement in the Catholic Church.

"Really I feel that, intellectually as well as morally, the forms of religion as they are manifested among simple people are less harmful than those so-called superior forms. The form in which a dogmatic religion may be practically superior is when it consists in a simple faith, absolutely simple and without complications, intellectual or moral. . . . The adaptations and conciliations which men endeavor to make between primitive religions and advanced morality and psychology result in producing psychological conditions which bring about most evil results.

"Let me explain. Suppose I open the Bible, which for me is a historical and moral monument. In this spirit I can read it and feel a deep respect for certain institutions and persons without suppressing indignation and repugnance for others. But suppose a person as educated as I opens the Bible believing that it is divinely inspired. Let us see what happens, intellectually and morally.

"First, intellectually: Take Genesis or any other part that offers explanations of scientific matters and one sees what primitive and false ideas are there. What does the educated person do? He manufactures sophistries and juggles his reason in order to explain that which is unexplainable. While the liberal spirit will not be damaged by the ingenious primitive explanations, the one who believes in its divinity has to falsify his reason: 'Days are not days, but geological epochs; the light here is not that of the sun, but a diffused light; that which detained it was the earth, etc.' The immediate result of these harmful mental gymnastics is to shake the intelligence from its rectitude.

"But in the moral field is where the result is the worst. I open the Bible, for example, at the history of Abraham. Abraham, on going to a foreign country, ordered Sarah to deny that she was his wife and pass as his sister, which resulted in the kings' taking Sarah as their concubine and enriching Abraham with many 'cattle, asses and camels.' If we read this in a liberal spirit it will not do us any more harm than

the narration of any other immoral act. But suppose a person reads it who is obliged, because he has previously enclosed his spirit in a determined religion, to find good here or at least to apologize for the act. What kind of tortures will it not be necessary for him to apply to his conscience? And when he finds out that the Lord was irritated on finding out these things, not at Abraham, but at the Kings because they had taken Sarah, and punished them greatly until they had returned Sarah, while Abraham was honored continually by the Lord? Or when he sees further along that the whole prominence of the tribe of Israel was due to the fraud of Rebecca in blessing Jacob instead of Isaac, and feels himself obliged to believe that this deception, with divine approval, is the basis of Israel's predominance, and all the rest as it is reported in each chapter? To what point will it be necessary for this reader to arrive in order to lose his moral balance?

"Such is the morality produced by religion in persons who have a certain amount of instruction. Such gymnastics cannot be performed with impunity. For this reason as great a thinker as Guyau has sustained that possibly Protestantism is not, as is commonly supposed, a superior educative religion to Catholicism; for there is noted the different attitude of the two religions toward the absurd. The Catholic religion recommends the swallowing of the absurdity at once without tasting it, as children do medicine, this attitude being represented by the authoritative phrases of the Church, 'I believe although it is impossible; I believe because it is absurd.' Since they do not examine this absurdity when swallowed, at least the rest of the mentality may be left undisturbed. But with the religions of freedom of thought, it is necessary to prove that the absurdity is not an absurdity, which brings a mental warping that is the most dangerous of all things. The same reasoning applies to modernism in the Catholic Church. I believe, therefore, that if there is a crude religion and a refined one, the crude religionists will have an out-of-date mentality and the refined ones will have a dislocated mentality; in other words, I believe that when these religious spirits are refined they are worse than when crude—they give less hope.

"I have spoken of the bad phases of religions of 'liberal thought'; the facility for division, for finding solutions, arrangements; for the moral and intellectual is so much a part

of them that, if it were sensible to compare races, Latins, Saxons and Teutons, and ask which is superior, I believe, contrary to certain ideas that are afloat today, that there is a quality which would make our race clearly superior to these others, the quality of greater resistance which we oppose to those states of the spirit which result from intellectual and moral 'arrangements,' those psychological divisions, those inconsequents of sentiments and intelligence.

"The moral life of each one should be then, rather than a system, *a living state*. Unfortunately one has to follow this morality without help, for there are no books on ethics which explain sincerely what the position of man is and what his actions should be. We live on a planet of which we know not the origin, on a limited bit of the universe of which we know little and of the part beyond which we know nothing. But if we must build our houses on the corruptible earth, at least let us have windows open toward the heavens. Choose whatever style you prefer, Greek, Roman, Gothic, only one you must not choose, that of the pyramids. For if a building is closed above it is good for nothing except a tomb. From these positive systems, one may see the sky, divine, suppose, conceive, dream."

No one can doubt, as he studies the growingly complex life of South America, that her greatest problem is a moral one. As Prof. Ferreira and many others have pointed out, one branch of the Christian Church has failed to supply an adequate basis for morality. Will the Evangelical Church be able to do so? This is the greatest question before the leaders of that church in South America and their friends in other parts of the world who are helping to develop this movement.

Growing Influence of the Evangelical Movement

In the capitals of South America it is not difficult to recognize the very rapidly growing influence of the Evangelical Church, or at least of the missionaries. In cities like Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo the Evangelical Church itself is now counted as an influence both by government officials and the community at large. In cities like Lima, only an individual missionary or two has come to be recognized. In the latter city a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland founded a little day school four years ago. He now has more applications from the best class of people than he can possibly

accept in his school. At the same time he has been elected a member of the most exclusive literary circle of the city and made a full professor in the old exclusive University of San Marcos. A missionary of the South American Evangelical Union has made a continuous fight for religious liberty and had a good deal to do with the passing of the bill for religious liberty in 1915, which for the first time gave the Protestants the right to have their meetings in ecclesiastical appearing buildings and invite people publicly to their services. The Evangelical School for Girls counts among its patrons cabinet ministers, bankers and other prominent families of Lima.

As to the work of the Protestants in Peru, Sr. Davalos y Lissón says: "For some time there have been certain Protestant pastors, belonging to the Evangelical Church, who in their desire to proselite have spread their teachings among the Indians. At first they were legally attacked by the priests and public officials, who invoked Article Four of the Constitution. Congress suspended the part of the article prohibiting the exercise of other religions, so that the opposition to the evangelicals now has no support in law. Yet there still arrive in Lima, from time to time, notices of strange attacks on Peruvians and foreigners belonging to the evangelicals, attacks generally carried out by ignorant and drunken crowds, incited by religious fanatics. The way in which the Protestants have intensified their labors in the mountains is notable. Their endeavors are interesting from the standpoint of moral and civil improvement. They correct the immoral customs of the Indians and, most important, they combat alcoholism, the most terrible enemy of the native, a vice that has been tolerated by the priests in their religious festivities. The evangelicals, by means of their words and example, both kind and austere, have persuaded the people who visit them to quit their drinking."

It is interesting to note that the work of Protestant missions here mentioned is that carried on in the remote highlands by the South American Evangelical Union on their Urco Farm and that of the Seventh Day Adventists near Puno, on Lake Titicaca. The South American bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church has said that the work of the Adventists here is the most remarkable that he has seen in South America. They now have seventy schools with an average of fifty students each, taught by Indians. A Normal

School is being built which will prepare more and better teachers. The system is so developed that it seems to be almost self-propagating. The Urco Farm too is doing a remarkable work, both for the spiritual and economic development of the Indians. The corn crop in that district has been remarkably improved by the importation of seed during the last few years. The government has such confidence in the director of the farm that the funds for road building and other public works are placed under his control, and his advice is sought on all public questions.

In Santiago de Chile the two evangelical schools, Santiago College and *Instituto Ingles,* have been recognized for years by the community at large as outstanding influences for good. Students and professors from the national university have mingled with those students and professors in fraternal helpfulness. One of the evangelical missionaries has taught English for several years in the university and at least one of the university professors publicly urges his students to read the Bible and attend Christian schools in the United States. The missionary forces are recognized by the Chilean leaders as the best kind of allies in reform movements such as those of temperance and labor. The recently formed Young Women's Christian Association has come to be quite a center of women students of the university. The three hundred members have agreed to carry all the local expenses for the coming year, the second of the organization. The Evangelical bookstore, located in the center of the city, though small, is getting recognition in commercial and student circles, and is slowly permeating the community with Christian literature. Santiago is only equaled by two or three other cities in the world in the number of foreign missionaries, there being over sixty located there at present.

The President of Chile, Sr. Arturo Alessandri, recently elected on a reform ticket, which the evangelical forces backed with enthusiasm, said to representatives of the Evangelical Union of Santiago, on the occasion of their presenting him with a copy of the Scriptures: "I am a Christian. I believe in the doctrines of Christ. I accept the sound doctrines of the Bible and reject clerical errors. I raise the white flag to all truth. This book of yours which you present will remain by my side. It will be my guide and I shall know how to appreciate it at its true worth. If Congress confirms

my election, when I come into the capital I will work incessantly for complete and absolute liberty of conscience. I know of the cultural and moral work that you, the evangelicals, are doing in all the republic, and I hold it in the highest esteem. If I enter the nation's capitol the doors will always be open to help every good work which you do and you will always occupy a place in my heart."

In an interview I had with the president, he said: "The only book I have in my bedroom is the Bible and I read it every day. I believe the people of the United States are great, not because of their great commerce and energy, but they have these things because they are a Bible-reading people. We have before us in Chile a great many problems, such as the labor and temperance problems, and I desire to solve them according to the principles of the Bible. I believe in the separation of Church and State, so that the State may protect and encourage all forms of Christianity which work for the good of the people."

The city of Buenos Aires has a population of nearly two million people and it is difficult to feel the influence of any one movement there. Both for that reason and because the evangelical forces there have been less progressive, it may be explained why their influence is not so much in evidence. The Young Men's Christian Association, with 3600 members, however, must be reckoned as a real community influence. The Young Women's Christian Association is also making itself felt among the women of the city, though their limitations in building have retarded them greatly. *Colegio Americano,* supported jointly by the Methodists and Disciples of Christ, is gradually becoming recognized in educational circles. The so-called "Morris Schools," the soul of which is an Anglican clergyman of that name, have attracted the widest attention of any evangelical work and have even been granted subsidies by the National Congress, after the liveliest debates on religious liberty. The Salvation Army is also recognized officially and generally as a philanthropic agency and the new business block they are planning to erect in the center of the city will represent the contributions of many citizens of Buenos Aires. The Secretary of the World's Sunday School Association, living in Buenos Aires, was not long ago invited to write a series of comments on scripture texts, which were published in a weekly paper. The university students are joining heartily in the campaign of the Young Men's Christian

Association to raise funds for the needy students of Europe. So far as the writer knows, however, up to the present, no missionary or regular mission work in Buenos Aires has secured such influence in the community as may be noted in some other South American capitals.

In Montevideo there is so liberal an atmosphere that the fact that one is a Protestant does not at all mark him off from the general community. The present rector of the University used to be a teacher in the Methodist Sunday School and was educated in the Waldensian Colony. During his administration of the office of Minister of Foreign Relations he discovered the shortage in accounts of one of the consuls in a foreign country. When he began to prosecute the man, the president requested him to desist since the consul had rendered political favors to his chief. The minister resigned as a protest. His successor in office told him that he could never understand why a man would sacrifice a brilliant career because of a delicate moral point. But when he visited the Waldensian Colony and saw the emphasis placed on honor, he then could understand. This Waldensian Colony, founded more than half a century ago by several thousand Waldensians, has exercised a marked influence on the life of Uruguay. Many of their young people have gone through the professional schools of Montevideo and are now leading physicians, lawyers, engineers and merchants. The Methodist Church in Montevideo probably has the highest average of intelligence as well as the finest church building of any congregation in Spanish-speaking Protestantism. One of its members is a justice of the Supreme Court and another has been a professor in the University for many years. The Educational Secretary of the Committee on Co-operation, who makes his headquarters in Montevideo, is recognized by the intellectual circles in their temperance and other organizations for reform. The Methodist Woman's Board is now erecting what promises to be the finest building for a girls' boarding school in South America. Here also is to be located the International Faculty of Theology and Social Sciences, which is to give post-graduate training to Evangelical leaders of all South America.

Rio de Janiero is probably the largest evangelical center in the Latin world, though I am not sure as to its comparative strength with the evangelical movement in Paris. There are about one hundred preaching points in the city and suburbs. The Pastor's Association has some sixty members. Protestantism here glories

in a great history since the first service of the evangelicals, which was really the first foreign mission ever sent out by Protestantism, was held by the Huguenots in that city in 1554. The oldest Protestant Church in South America, built by the English colony in 1910, still renders service to the same colony. The central congregations of the Brazilian Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist and Congregational Churches have large and influential memberships. The First Presbyterian Church has a thousand members and a thousand in Sunday School, with social rooms, a printing press, and pastor's residence; it supports several missionary workers in Brazil and one in Portugal, conducting some fourteen branch Sunday Schools in the city of Rio de Janeiro. It counts among its members congressmen, physicians, bankers, merchants and literary men as well as those of the humbler classes. A member of the Congregational Church who died recently had an estimated capital of one million dollars in his business and was the patron of a number of city charities. The governor of the State of Espiritu Santo, Brazil, is a devout member of the Methodist Church. Visiting ministers at the State capitol are often asked into his private office to read the Bible and pray with him. When he was living in Rio de Janeiro representing his state in the Senate, his church put on a campaign for tithing. After a sermon by his pastor, he came to him with the word that he had decided to give a tenth of his income, and as a beginning for that year, he put into his pastor's hands a check, equal to several thousand dollars.

The daily papers of Rio de Janeiro publish articles both from the pens of evangelical writers and from their own staff describing evangelical work. The Evangelical Hospital was built entirely by the churches of Brazil at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars, and is sustained by them. The Young Men's Christian Association raised in a recent building campaign, led by the foremost citizens of the city, Sr. Ruy Barbosa being chairman, more than a hundred thousand dollars. The Young Women's Christian Association in a year after its opening has twelve hundred members, among them some of the most distinguished women of the city. The Secretary for Literature of the Committee on Cooperation is a member of the most important literary clubs of the city and the series of readers, prepared by him, has just been adopted by the public schools of the state of Sao Paulo. An evangelical pastor of Sao Paulo has written what is generally recognized as the best grammar of the Portuguese language. The General Agent of the

American Bible Society is recognized both by Brazilians and foreigners as one of the leading citizens of Rio de Janeiro. It was he who first suggested to the government that it follow the method used in Cuba to clean up Rio de Janeiro, a suggestion which led to the transformation of the city from one of the worst pest holes in America, to one of the most healthful and certainly the most beautiful city in the world. His was the honor also to begin the playground movement and other civic betterments. In the recent epidemic of influenza, this good man offered himself and the "People's Institute," which he directed, to a committee of citizens on which were working the principal Catholic clergy of the city. From a meeting at the Cathedral, a priest was sent with him to visit the Parish Church, near the People's Institute. With such an introduction the parish priest agreed to allow the evangelical minister to take entire responsibility for ministering to more than half of the parish. This minister saw the error in the way relief was being administered, the sick people themselves coming together at relief stations and standing in the sun for hours, not only making the sick worse, but spreading the disease. So he told the committee that he could not follow their plan, but would make a systematic canvass of the houses, find out what was needed and deliver it to the sick. They saw the point at once and the system of relief in the whole city was changed to the one used by the People's Institute. This contributed greatly to the good name of the Evangelical Church, for not only in the capital but in all Brazil, were the Evangelicals first and most practical in their relief in this, one of the greatest epidemics in the history of the republic.

One of the most remarkable examples of evangelical influence on a member of the intellectual class in Latin America is found in the case of Dr. José Carlos Rodríguez, who has just produced a study on the Old Testament that is no doubt the greatest work of its kind ever written in the Portuguese or Spanish language. Dr. Rodríguez was for many years the editor and proprietor of the largest daily in Rio de Janeiro, The Journal of Commerce. As such and because of his singular uprightness of character and his understanding of international questions, he was often called on by his government to serve on many important international commissions. As a young man he got hold of a Bible on his first trip to the United States and ever since has been a student of the Book. Several years ago, he began a series of articles in his

paper on Bible Study. He then became so interested in the subject that he decided to sell his paper and give the rest of his life to writing on the subject. His first book has just been published in two large and handsome volumes of more than a thousand pages, and is called "Estudo Historico o Critico sobre o Velho Testamento." It represents eleven years of investigation, the last five of which were given entirely to the writing of this work and seeing it through the press in Edinburgh.

Lest the writer of these lines be thought to overstate the far-reaching importance of this book, which seems to him to mark the entering of South America into a new epoch of spiritual development, let the words of a distinguished South American be cited. The well-know Brazilian literary critic, Dr. João Ribeiro, in one of the best known daily papers of Rio de Janeiro, reviewing Dr. Rodríguez' book says: "Generally there is no love for religious literature in Brazil. Roman Catholicism does not favor criticism or permit liberalism in ideas or opinions, which she considers dangerous. To this is due the sterility of our ideas on religion, which do not reach beyond eloquent sermons such as those of Vieira or Mont Alverne in which there are found most beautiful literary forms. It is easy to attribute the indifference of our intellectuals toward Roman Catholicism in Brazil to this dogmatic narrowness which predominates in all Latin countries. The door of reaction shuts out liberal thought. The faithful become accustomed to this prejudicial attitude which soon degenerates into a profound indifference.

"This book of Dr. Rodríguez makes us think of new roads that may be opened as an outlet for the religious stagnation. It is not a book of propaganda, but it is a worthy effort and God grant that it may bring results. Books of this kind are what the Latin people need. On reading Dr. Rodríguez' book we have been impressed with the idea that it is the only book in all our language that takes into account modern science in the discussion of religion. It does not, however, follow the extreme of the Germans' rationalism. On the contrary, it is a book of profound religious faith, which loves discussion and historical criticism, in which proof of the truth is found.

"This tendency constitutes the greatest difficulty for a criticism which is emancipated from preconceived religious ideas. As Prof. Loehr says: 'Scientific study should be separated from the Church's dogmatic point of view, which insists that the Old Testament is

a preparation for the New and that the religion of the Hebrews is the guidance of the Spirit toward the perfection in Christ.' But the book under review takes exactly the opposite view from that of Loehr. For Dr. Rodríguez the whole of Jewish history is a constant, clear and progressive revelation of the great Christian fact. 'Jesus Christ is the secular projection of the Divine Activity in the history of the chosen people,' are the author's exact words.

"We find this doctrine somewhat exclusive. For other authors all peoples that antedated Christ, Egyptians, Persians, Greeks and even Romans, were collaborators in developing Christianity. Jesus did not know these peoples, most probably, nor was that necessary, since His work was purely and profoundly moral. He did not need scientific information. But the Christianity which springs from Him received much from its contact with these peoples, as is seen in Saint Paul, the author of Christian theology, and in the Fourth Gospel, which is mistakenly attributed to the Apostle John. . . .

"It only remains to say of this book of deep and vast erudition that whatever may be the religious sentiments of those who read it, they will find here a proof of the intellectual capacity of our race to confront the most difficult and the most profound problems of humanity. In our Portuguese or Brazilian bibliography we do not have one single book which can be put beside this study of the Old Testament. We have, possibly, delitantes and lovers of religious literature, as is the author of these lines, and a few fragments of Tobias Barreto, little read and generally depreciated. . . . Irreligious men, in the true sense of the word, do not exist. Intolerance or fanaticism is only a state of mind which uses 'irreligious' to describe the unfortunate unbeliever and to curse its adversary. It is well then, since men everywhere have their peculiar religious sentiments, that all should read this book, admirable in its every treatment and eloquent in its beautiful simplicity."

Summing up my impressions of the evangelical work of South America on this last trip, I would say that in spite of the great need of enlargement in personnel, equipment and program, the Evangelical Movement has come to be an established and recognized force in South America. The old discussions concerning whether or not the simple evangelical church could ever satisfy the Latin temperament with its love for display and ceremony or the other question as to whether or not Protestant missions to South Americans were justified or would ever be welcomed by

them—these discussions, in the light of actual developments have ceased to be questions. In modern parlance, the Evangelical Church in South America has "arrived." A certain type of publicist, ecclesiastics, politicians and sentimentalists, may go on ignoring or opposing this fact. But no real student of the social life of the continent, whatever may be his likes or dislikes, will fail to recognize this growingly important phenomenon.

Organizers of the Panama Congress and workers in the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America may well take courage at the part this movement has had in bringing the evangelical work to its present strength. The difference between the impact of the evangelical work in the community as seen in visits in 1914 and in 1921 is nothing less than remarkable. This multiplied influence has been brought about by a united study of the task, a united program of action, the presentation of a united front before the community and a broader, more positive, more comprehensive conception of the service to be rendered.

Signs of Moral and Spiritual Awakening

In every one of the countries visited in South America, I found a rapid development of all kinds of altruistic movements like free night schools, public milk stations, campaigns for "better babies," anti-tuberculosis organizations, free reading rooms, Boy Scouts, newsboys' homes, clubs for working girls, student hostels, mutual societies for intellectual improvement and health insurance, Saturday half-holiday and any number of other movements. While these were often fostered by the labor, feminist or temperance movements, or by North American missionary forces, there are many of them that seem to be entirely independent. These movements show the usual weaknesses of the beginnings of such independent developments, without technical direction. But they show the remarkable, wide-awake spirit of the people and offer great encouragement to those interested in the moral and spiritual development of South America. A book could easily be written outlining these movements. In Santiago de Chile there is an office building where nearly a dozen social, temperance and educational organizations working for community development, have their headquarters. The mere signs on the doors are one of the most impressive demonstrations of the way these movements are developing. An illustration of the informal way in which some of these movements are begun and the extent

of their outreach is found in a few young men from the Young Men's Christian Association in Buenos Aires making up with a neighborhood gang of boys by first stopping to watch them play, then entering into their play, then telling them stories, then teaching them new games, until now they have a regular time for games, stories, hikes, etc., and a loyalty to moral ideals of the gang that is influencing the whole neighborhood—all without any equipment except a vacant lot and an occasional ball or bat.

Beneath those outward demonstrations of interest in the other man it is not difficult to find, if one knows how to get into the hearts of the people, a real hunger for spiritual things, and a recognition of the necessity of a spiritual basis for national and personal life. The change that is coming over some of the intellectuals of South America concerning religion is illustrated in the life of one of the leading educationalists of Argentina, who when the Young Men's Christian Association was started in Buenos Aires several years ago, pleaded with the secretaries to leave off the word Christian in order not to shut out their influence on the general community. But recently this same man not only told the Association that he recognized his mistake but has declared himself in accord with their Christian principles, and is giving a large part of his time to Association work. Men like Dr. Fernández Peña, president of the National Teachers' Association of Chile; Prof. Ernesto Nelson of the popular University of Buenos Aires; Prof. Eduardo Monteverde, of the University of Uruguay; Sr. Juan Francisco Pérez, Secretary of the Paraguayan Institute; Dr. Galvez, of the Peruvian literary circle, and Dr. José Carlos Rodríguez, the editor emeritus of "O Journal du Comercio," of Rio de Janeiro, are leaders in this growing circle of distinguished South Americans who believe profoundly in the necessity of the spiritual life as the basis of solving all national and personal problems.

Some of the younger generation of intellectuals are also turning their thoughts toward religion. I do not mean to organized religion, for I found few of them who were interested in either Protestantism or Catholicism as movements into which they might throw their lives. But there are a number who are now coming to pursue the sentimental side of religion, to read the lives of saints like Loyola and Francis de Assisi and to be interested in the Bible itself. The editor of the oldest daily paper in Peru said to me that he got away from his office as early as possible

every day to go home and have a quiet time with his family and to read the Bible. He was anxious to assure me that he was no Protestant, but that he did enjoy the Bible. Calling on one of the best known of the younger literary men, while he was in the act of preparing a public address, I remarked on the open Bible before him. He replied that he was looking for some great words of Isaiah, with which to burn a thought into the minds of his hearers. This man recently answered the attacks of Dr. Gonzales Prada on religion and since then has taken many occasions to declare himself in favor of Christianity. Different from his interest, which is largely social, there are a number of young men who are cultivating the spiritual, without any reference to the practical, men who have become imbued with ideas something akin to the old mystics and to Buddhism. Some of these have actually taken to going to mass, not that they care anything for the Church but that it gives them a chance to meditate. One of the highest qualities that a thinker can have is *"una gran inquietud espiritual."* There are many young men in South America who read Victor Hugo as devotedly before retiring at night as one of us would read our Bible. In a conversation with the Director of the National Library, who is also Dean of the Faculty of Letters in San Marcos University, Peru, he said: "What Peru needs is idealism carried out practically. Send us from North America your people of ideas and interpreters of the spiritual. We have been great admirers of the United States and this has done us harm in a certain way. Our people have pointed to the Northern Republic as successful because of its practical ability to develop the material. And they have said that if Peru will become rich, it too will become great. We need representatives of your life that will show wherein your true greatness lies, which I am convinced is in your emphasis on the spiritual."

Dr. Mariana H. Cornejo, one of the great men of Peru, said in an address before the University, July 3, 1915:

"Gentlemen, for individual wrongs and our social wrongs there are only two remedies; either the intervention of a strong foreign power whose help will teach us to invoke religion, or one's own vitality whose reaction teaches the calling upon and the regulation of science. It seems to me that the University should discuss the scientific solution. The first requisite, gentlemen, of a religious apostleship means to feel profoundly and to transmit a faith in

the reality of the divine miracle. The first requisite of a scientific apostleship is to feel and transmit faith in the efficacy of a scientific solution.

"The greatest vice of our social order is the tenacious resistance to every reform, however insignificant it may be. Here we believe there is the greatest antagonism between ideas and acts, that at least they can be more than two parallel series which can never approach one another. International law recognizes neutrality in war. We have discovered neutrality in science. In the outside world opposite doctrines struggle against one another and are applied practically. With us the phenomenon is followed by interest. But it never occurs to us that it might be implanted within our circle. The reason always given is known to every one, 'We are not prepared.' As if either in the physical or in social evolution, there were ever a preparation different from the need itself."

If Dr. Cornejo is not willing to do more than point out religion as one of the ways out of national impotency, there are others who are willing to come forth clearly for religion as the one way out of the present continent-wide social and moral confusion.

While Miguel de Unamuno is not a South American, he probably has a wider spiritual following than any man on that continent, so the following from him is significant. He first quotes the following from a young Peruvian writer: "What we Spanish Americans need, in order to give birth to a fruitful collective ideal, is ethnic homogeneity, confidence in our own powers, and intense and concentrated intellectual life, and social and economic development." Then Unamuno adds: "And they need something else, the same thing that we Spaniards need in order that we may once again have an idea that will give originality, they need religious sentiment in life; for the religion that they inherited from their fathers and ours is now for them as it is for us, a purely conventional life."

About two years ago the Argentine sociologist, Alfredo Palacios, addressing a large meeting of students and professors in the University of Lima, had a Bible on the table before him from which he read profuse quotations, chiefly to point out the value of Mosaic and prophetic teaching for the solution of modern social problems. A few weeks ago Antonio Caso, one of the most noted figures in the intellectual life of Mexico, gave an address before a similar audience, and his theme was, "Individuality, Personal-

ity, and Divinity." In this address he identified the highest type of personality with the ability to think reality under a single concept, and at the same time the disposition to make free sacrifice of all one possessed. He told his audience that a supreme personality of that type could be found in the Gospels. Caso is a theist and denominates himself a Christian thinker. It was he who was the chief instrument in demolishing positivism in Mexico. That Spanish America should possess a philosophical thinker of the calibre of Caso, who calls himself a Christian without being specifically a Catholic, augurs the possibility of the same new dawn breaking over these republics that the presence of Unamuno augurs for the Iberian peninsula.

One curious thing I have noticed is that some thoughtful men who do not mind calling themselves religious, mystical or even Christian, have a horror of being called "sectarian," and unfortunately everything that savors of a definite religious creed or organization is for them "sectarian." One of the reasons for not wishing to be "sectarian" is that for them it is equivalent to a static, illiberal and intolerant condition, through the annuling of all spiritual restlessness and growth. The compatability between a definite creed and progressive spiritual life and thought seems not to have dawned upon them.

Many of the young men who have been to school in the United States are returning home with reports of the place religion has in the life of those countries and are thus calling their fellow countrymen's attention to the question. The philosophical drift now is very evidently toward the spiritual theories of Bergson and William James and away from the materialism of Spencer, who has held the place of prime importance for many years.

The atmosphere has changed enough so that in lectures before intellectual circles and in personal interviews on this trip, I felt I could go further than on other similar occasions in discussing spiritual questions. In a lecture on Inter-American Friendship before the University of Chile, one of the few sentiments applauded by the dignified audience was that concerning the good that could be done in bettering mutual understandings by the right kind of spiritual ambassadors who would discuss frankly and sympathetically the great fundamental religious questions which lie at the base of both North and South American life.

There is some trace of a reviving interest in Roman Catholicism by the formation of Catholic Student Clubs in the University of

Buenos Aires and by the writings of such authors as Dr. Juan Zorilla de San Martin and Francisco García Calderon. The latter insists, in his last book *"Ideologia,"* that there is a great work for the Church, if it will only reform its ways, saying: "If the school teaches nationalism, the Church should emphasize high moral ideals, the devotion to duty, the seriousness of life, the significant inquietude of death." An interesting phenomenon in Catholic circles is the case of those who call themselves Catholics but not Christians. Strange enough the word "Christian" has often in South America, as in Spain, had a repugnant connotation.

I have already referred to the devotion of Dr. Zorilla de San Martin to Roman Catholicism and his belief in the spiritual. He thinks that it is the common spiritual forces of the Northern and Southern Americans that will unite us for world service. In my recent visit with him he recalled the time in 1896 when he was ambassador to France and William II was just beginning to reign. The young Emperor then composed a poem, "A Song to Agir" (the Norse God of War) which showed to Dr. Zorilla that the young man was bent on war. Remembering this poem all during the years, this Uruguayan writer recently took it for the title of a book which he has been working on for some three years. This book deals with the world situation, growing out of the war, and the problem of how the spiritual may be made most prominent in human relations. He has now decided to change the title of his book and call it "The Prophecy of Ezequiel," referring to the vision on the Valley of Dry Bones, and the fact that they could only be given life by the Spirit blowing upon them. He says that it is all right to talk of commerce and agriculture and leagues of nations, but the world can never become what it should until it has been dominated by the spirit. He believes that in America we have not inherited the heathen ideas of the gods of the Norsemen that Germany has; that English civilization is a continuation of the Roman, rather than the Saxon, that therefore our American civilization, both North and South, is more truly dominated by the heart and the warm sympathy for all people, than by the cold sentiments of the Norsemen; and that, for that reason, all Americans can and must stand together in seeing that spiritual values are those that dominate mankind. His forthcoming book will no doubt be a great contribution to American life in the largest sense of the term. The spirit of the man can be seen in the fol-

lowing quotations from the translation of an address he gave to the North American sailor boys visiting Uruguay during the war:

"If the fraternity of our countries comes from the common mother, Democracy, this of which I now speak, this which inspires in me such warmth of affection and interest in each and every one of you, this comes from something higher and more enduring, our common universal Father, our Father which is in Heaven, and who is one with the Son whom we all worship, Jesus Christ the Divine Redeemer of men. I wish to speak to you of Him on this occasion, my friends and brothers, because I wish to leave in your souls as the most precious remembrance of my country, living and eternal words.

"When on the starlit nights in the midst of the infinite ocean, you pass the slow hours of the night watch at the foot of your formidable cannon, more than once you will lift your eyes to the firmament above, and more than once you will feel pass among the constellations the memories of the absent country for whose glory you struggle, and they will fill your hearts with peace, with energy, with valor; you will see there the images of those who love you most in all the world and whom you have left in your native land, the image perchance of your mothers who in those very moments will be lifting their Christian prayers to Heaven for you that God may keep you in His care, and that in your journeyings over the far away seas and lands He may give you friends who may have toward you something of the paternal affection, who may see in you not only the strong arms of warriors, but noble and Christian spirits, and who may speak to you now and again of God, of Jesus Christ the Redeemer, of purity, of confidence in the Heavenly Father, of the fulfilment of your duties toward the good God, toward your fellowmen and toward yourselves.

" It is well to remember, my friends, that among the many who show you attentions in a more or less collective and superficial fashion, there remain in Uruguay those who have loved you individually and who will follow you with affection after you have abandoned our hospitable harbor; remember, young and valiant sailors of the democratic fleet, that some there are who, on remembering this group of fair and youthful heads uniformed in white, will lift their spirits to the Father which is in Heaven, and

will pray that on every one may come His omnipotent protection. His illuminating inspirations, His Fortitude and His Peace; they will ask that He guard you all from the moral and material dangers that rise to meet you, and that He return you well and safe to your beloved homeland—better even and stronger than when you set out from her shores.

"And thus it will be, my friends, because the way you take is the way of virtue and heroism. That Star Spangled Banner of your country, under whose shadow you sail the seas, is a sacred thing, as you well know; in her folds there floats the very Spirit of God, the God that inspired your virtuous Washington and to whom the framers of your Constitution raised their devout invocation; that banner will inspire you always with sentiments of valor and heroism, and it will lead you."

These words, spoken by a leading Catholic in a Young Men's Christian Association, and translated to North American sailors by an evangelical missionary, signify the dawning of a new day in South America.

There was a most significant service held April 5, 1921, in Buenos Aires, by professors and students, to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of the student Viera, who was slain by striking students at the University of La Plata, when he went to his examinations. There was erected a tablet which reads as follows:

"Here rest the remains of David Francis Viera, who in eighteen short years wrote on bronze the attributes of his personality foreign to his surroundings, influenced by mediocre and irresponsible people, to whose violence he opposed a model of filial piety, worship of discipline, of the religion of duty unto the uttermost, crowning it with pardon of his assassins and dying in the friendship of God, as he called for the unity of all his right-minded fellow students."

Dr. Tomás D. Caceres, speaking at the ceremony, said: "We must confess on this solemn occasion that the University Reform (the movement which has given the students the right to participate in the management of the University), with few exceptions has been a source of anarchy, because the forces incorporated in the new arrangement are forces without feeling or reason. But the student body will never use this force legitimately until it is

made sensible and reasonable. And this will not be done without beginning with one's own interior spirit.

"And what is the law of spiritual reform needed? Unfortunately this is not a day of moral unity. Each one will therefore respond according to his own ideal. As for myself, I frankly declare, repeating a well-formed idea: In the University the Gospels should be taught and practised, for in them is found salvation for this situation as for every situation; in the Gospel and only in it is found complete justice."

It would be easy to make too much of the significance of such statements as these; but there is no question that intellectual classes of South America are possessed today of a new open-mindedness toward things spiritual.

Power of Personality

It would be interesting to continue to draw from one's note book items that bear on this great problem of the religious struggles of the youngest and most promising of the continents. Such a procedure would probably add little to the outstanding facts, which, as the author sees them, are these: Religion, is considered by a large number of the intellectuals of South America to be organized evil and when one asks them to accept it he is understood to be asking them to work against progress. The Roman Catholic Church is thoroughly aroused to this opposition to its organization and is making far-reaching efforts to overcome it and to checkmate the growing reform movements among laboring men, students and women. The fight between the Church and these ever multiplying movements for social betterment is a most strenuous contest around which other battles will continue to wage for a period of years. The importance of pure morals has heretofore been little recognized in South America and the connection between morality and religion has seldom been made; there is now, however, a growing interest in ethical questions, which gives hope and invites help. The Evangelical churches and the foreign missionaries, while still occupying a very limited circle in the life of the continent, have now come to the point where their influence is publicly felt and acknowledged to be rapidly increasing. By probing under the surface there is found a movement toward spiritual life, yet it is almost entirely extra-ecclesiastical, confined to a chosen few of the intellectual class.

Facing such a situation, the North American neighbor, who be-

lieves in the reality and power of the Christian religion and desires with all sincerity to help his Southern friends, will inquire how it can be done.

The first and most obvious answer is—enlarge the present mission work. There can be no doubt that this work has had far-reaching results. To it may be traced many of the social movements which are now stirring the land. Little chapels in dark and dangerous streets; quiet meetings in private homes of individual "believers"; small schools, very lacking, from the standpoint of modern pedagogy, in equipment and teaching force; persistent colporteurs tramping over mountain and plain to distribute the word of God—these as well as the more pretentious evangelistic and educational activities which command wide attention from the public are worthy of duplicating a thousand fold. To the pioneers who have struggled along without equipment, in the midst of fanatical opposition, often with little support from home or the field, is due full recognition. No one who has studied the results of their work could fail to have the deepest appreciation for it. The section of this treatise which refers to the present strong influence of evangelical missions points out, not only the splendid results obtained by them in the past, but also the need of continuing and multiplying the forces and methods used in the past.

Yet everywhere one finds a holy discontent among the missionaries, and a belief that new methods are necessary. Some are even ready to declare that the need is for a new conception of the missionary task. How this should effect any particular situation must be determined by the individual missionary in view of his environment and of his aptitudes. One thing, however, seems sure and that is that the basis must be personality. Organization to the Saxon, seems indispensable. "Wherever two or three Americans are found together, there will they meet and organize." But two or three Latins, or many times that number, may be together for many moons, without ever thinking of organization. The strongest characteristic of the Hispanic American is individualism. This he has inherited from his American and Iberian-Arabic ancestry. His relationships are personal. The strength of any leader, political or otherwise, in Hispanic America, lies in his personal relations. Candidates for office do not win by strong platforms but by strong friendships. Business is not captured by a fine organization, which is able to undersell and to hurry up deliveries, but by personal relationships with the buyer.

Letters of introduction, which have gone out of style with the Anglo-Saxon, are still of much value among Latins. An illustration of the importance of recognition of this emphasis on individualism is seen in the case of a leading intellectual figure who is becoming interested in Protestantism, because he considers that Protestant nations have been more progressive than Catholic, while his ideals of Pan-Americanism involve logically for him a sympathetic attitude towards the religion of the Anglo-Saxon Republic of the North. His chief difficulty in Protestantism is a sentimental one, derived from a dislike of its historical founder, Martin Luther. For this scholar, Luther is *"antipatico."* He says that if a man of the type of Francis de Assisi, or Abraham Lincoln, instead of the pugnacious Wittenburg monk, had been the founder of Protestantism he would have very much less difficulty in embracing it. Needless to say he should be given new light on the great Reformer's character as well as to have pointed out to him that there is more than one type of saintliness needed in the world, and that in any case the claims of evangelical Christianity do not depend on our estimate of any given individual who professes it, but only on the character and teachings of its Founder, and the results it has produced in human society. The case, however, is interesting as affording an insight into South American psychology. Here it is personality rather than principle that is primarily attractive and for that reason the success of Christianity in this continent is intimately bound up with the intrinsic attractiveness of the personalities through whom it is mediated. I am more and more convinced that what will ultimately win this continent will not be naked principle or elaborate organization but living, breathing, beaming personalities who will bring people into immediate contact with the living radiant Lord. Instead of wasting a great deal of initial time in controversial disquisitions about the claims of Protestantism, the Divine-Human Figure of Jesus Christ should be presented in all its effulgence: the message should be above all things Cristocentric—Christ as the Satisfier of the heart's longings; Christ as the Saviour of the individual and society: Christ as the fulness and goal of manhood. Here, where bolld *"Caudillos"* have never lacked a following, and men have clung to them through evil report and good report, without considering too closely the cause they represented, the words of the Master have a very special significance: "And I if I be lifted up from the earth will draw all men unto Me."

In spite of this well recognized individualism of the Latin American, however, the Anglo-Saxon missionary in southern countries generally follows his characteristic bent. His first step on taking up his residence in a Latin American community is very likely to be the setting up of a foreign organization. He thereby slaps the community in the face, and makes it just as difficult as possible for anyone with the least standing in the community to approve and accept what the missionary has to offer. Just because the missionary is a foreigner he is on trial in the community. But the organization he sets up makes the matter worse. Organizations are often regarded as only means of forcing methods and ideas upon the unwary and unwilling. But again the organization makes unusual demands. The missionary sings hymns and wants his friends to sing. Anyone who knows the educated man of Latin America, with his dignity and reserve, will see how utterly foreign it seems to him to join in singing with a congregation. There are other aspects of this organization quite foreign to Latin American taste. Yet, as he sees the situation, the only way provided for hearing the new truth is to join the organization. The friendship of the missionary is reserved often for those who have joined or seem likely to join the organized group of which he is the leader. In fact his keen Anglo-Saxon conscience, trained for centuries to emphasize organization, would forbid his spending very much time in cultivating friendships without urging his friends to join his organization, which, be it remembered, long after it is seen to be good, is still felt to be foreign. If the organization is sheltered in a poorly furnished hall on a side street, as is often the case, and if the service is conducted in the broken language of a foreigner, or the uncultured tongue of an uneducated national, the difficulties increase. Is it any wonder that often people who are attracted to the Evangelical Church are the kind who have nothing to lose in social prestige and no cultural prejudices to overcome? The humble classes need the gospel ministry. One of the greatest contributions made by Evangelical Christianity toward the development of Latin American nations is the raising of the *"peones"* and *"rotos"* from surfdom into a thinking, efficient middle class. But evangelical Christianity has a message also for the higher classes who now and for a long time to come will furnish the leadership of these nations. It is everywhere recognized that the method for effectively bringing the gospel to the higher classes of Latin America has not

been found. When it is found, it will pretty surely center around personality.

This does not mean that to win Latin Americans as loyal disciples of the Lord Jesus organization must be ignored. Latins need the invigorating influences of organization. The best organized missions are the ones which are getting the best results. The magnificent work of the Centenary and the New Era Movements in Chile and the Southern Baptist mission of Northern Brazil show this clearly. It rather means more emphasis upon methods which are distinctively personal, which in the passing of time, have greater transforming power, through cultivating friendships, eradicating wrong conceptions of life, and planting the leaven of love. It would be a great mistake for the missionary enterprise to fall into the weakness of individualism. Yet it is equally unwise to allow classes or office work, or meetings to prevent personal friendships, both with those who are within the missionary circle and with those who should be there. There are thousands of forward-looking men in South America who are anxious for fellowship with people who know the outside world as well as the South American world. Time spent with such men would redound to the great good of the people whom the missionary has gone to serve. Many would never become members of the missionaries' organization, but some would, and all would contribute to the missionaries' life purpose.

Several experiments have been tried by which it was hoped that missionary work should be carried along with the natural currents of custom and not set up unnecessarily difficult barriers. These are giving most interesting results. The Scotch Mission in Lima, founded in 1917, instead of starting as usual with a small preaching service began with a day school which has been built up to the standard of a secondary school which fits young men for the National University. The whole attention of the mission has been so far given to the building up of that school. Is that mission doing evangelistic work? Maybe not according to a rigid Anglo-Saxon method of thinking, which defines evangelistic work as implying a chapel and regular services. But no one can go into the home where these boys are boarded and into the classes where they are taught, without realizing what a far-reaching evangelistic work is being carried on among them. Who will say that after a term of years the intensive spiritual cultivation given to those young men will not bear as much or even more fruit for

Peru than the preaching services held by some other mission in a rented hall at certain hours for those who are willing to listen? Is it merely our Anglo-Saxon tradition or is it a careful study of the methods of Christ and Paul, that brands one course as right, and the other as "hedging"? The Scotch Mission proposes to open a place for the public proclamation of the gospel as soon as the proper foundations are laid. But I, for one, hope that they will so connect such a chapel with their educational work by announcing public lectures,* or something of the kind, that it may be easy and natural for educated men and women to attend and hear the message. Since the director of the school has already been recognized, in spite of his well-known religious relationships, as an eminent educationalist and has been elected a professor in the National University, such a step could be readily taken.

Another experiment of this sort has been tried in Asuncion, Paraguay, where the Disciples of Christ recently opened the work. Their first step was to send a missionary to live in Asuncion, to take courses in the University, and to establish relations on a friendly basis with the people of the community. These contacts were so well established and confidence so truly gained that when the missionary was ready to establish a school, he found the first people of the community giving blocks of time in helping him find property, run down titles, organize courses, etc. One of the leading lawyers of the city devoted much time to the matter of titles. He would have been entitled to a large fee, but refused to take any at all, because of his interest in the new enterprise. The school and all its foreign teachers are now regarded as a part of the community life in Asuncion, contributing in a large and unique way to the solution of its problems. The government of Paraguay has recently offered to furnish a building in the center of the capital city, to enable this recently established mission school to establish the first kindergarten in Paraguay. It is to be at the same time a training institution for kindergartners. Some of the new missionaries on the school's staff are troubled in conscience because there is as yet no public preaching of the gospel at a chapel. But, a premature organization of Anglo-Saxon worship, before they have made their personal friendships through

* "Paul continued his argument every day from eleven to four in the lecture room of Tyrannus. This went on for two years so that all the inhabitants of Asia, Jews as well as Greeks, heard the word of the Lord." (Acts 19:10. Moffett's Version.)

which the way will lead naturally into organization, will, to my mind, be going both against Latin American psychology and in the face of apostolic method, and will at the same time greatly delay the real progress of the gospel of Christ in Paraguay.

To bring about a more complete occupation of one of the South American fields one mission board recently agreed to turn over to another the entire evangelical responsibility for a city which is a great student center. The church long established there has not been able to reach the city at large. It has developed a group of sincere believers but they are drawn almost wholly from the uninfluential classes. The new mission is prepared to put a considerable force into the task of reaching that city and its constituencies. Christian strategy would dictate more than the mere multiplication of old methods. This force should plan a scheme for reaching the intellectual, especially the students who will become the leaders in all that territory. A new missionary might make natural contacts with students and fit himself better for reaching all classes of people by taking courses in the University and by inviting little groups to his home. From that might develop a community service, including the public preaching of the gospel, which would reach the whole city. In the meantime the relationship of such a missionary to the group of humble Christians in the little church can be entirely cordial and helpful, but his whole program will not be confined to their circle. In other communities where the church has already started but has a narrow circle of influence, and where there is a desire to reach out into other circles, it might be wise to start an entirely different movement in another part of the town, letting the two develop separately. The one always will react favorably on the other, if they are both conducted with the spirit of love and service that animated Christ in His work.

One of the missionaries of greatest influence in Argentina is a dentist. His Christian work seems natural to the community, because he has built it up along with his dental practice. It has come to be as natural to hear him talk in public on religion, as it is to hear him talk about it in his office, when he is filling one's tooth. The first missionaries to Peru were forbidden by the authorities to preach, so they put up a photograph gallery and took the people's pictures. For years they had to be contented with preaching as they photographed. The present mission house in Cuzco has all of its windows made of old photographic plates

cleansed of the likenesses of the valley's inhabitants. These missionaries not only made photographs but took contracts for public improvements, selling an iron bridge to the government, the placing of which forms one of the choicest stories ever related in South America. In this way a standing was gained that ultimately allowed the missionaries not only to open a meeting place, but to exercise a large influence in that capital city. When permission had been gained to preach the gospel, they felt that they were no longer justified in taking pictures or building bridges or doing any form of general community service. What was the outcome? The city soon concluded that they were merely trying to establish a foreign religion among them. The services were attended by the merest handful of ignorant people. Through their hospital and school work, which they are now building up, the missionaries are finding a new contact with the community life.

It goes without saying that the people of Latin America should be accustomed to listen to preaching. The pulpit has proved its worth through the ages and the Latin American churches must use it. The question may well be raised, however, whether the most effective preaching must follow unchanging forms. Must a missionary always call his public address a sermon rather than a *"conferencia,"* as other public addresses are called; must he always take a text and read from the Bible and have congregational singing; must the meeting always be closed with prayer, no matter how many people are kept away by ecclesiastical forms which they regard either as foolish or as compromising? Must the Protestant mark be stamped on all that is published, when to do so often keeps perfectly good people who are honestly interested in the truth, from examining such literature? Is it cowardly or is it Christ-like to announce that a school is not conducted to propagate a certain sect but is devoted to building character? Is it getting away from the gospel, or getting nearer to it, to give the benefits of a night school, a reading room, a clinic, and other advantages to the needy, without requiring that they attend a Sunday School or lend their influence in building up a church? Who started the story that Paul failed at Mars Hill? Did our Lord misuse His opportunity in the Sermon on the Mount? It was not a sermon at all, as we understand the word, but rather an informal *"Platica"* about the everyday problems met by people in everyday experiences—no marks of nationality, no ceremonies

designed for peculiar race psychology, but just universal truth, left in the hearts of His hearers to bring forth fruit.

The following, written out by a thoughtful missionary, after our discussion of the question of methods, is worth quoting:

"There must certainly be organization in Christian work in Spanish America, but the organization should not be the primary thing especially when initiating an evangelistic movement. A community should first be brought into contact, not with a general plan represented by some organization or other, but with specific needs, specific remedies, and, above all, with specific personalities capable of pointing out the former and supplying the latter. The missionary should first of all demonstrate in a practical way that he can do something of public utility that others cannot do, or at least not do so well, in order that people's ears be responsive to the deep message he brings. While denying that mere community betterment is the end of missionary activity, or that any power save the Spirit of God can regenerate a human soul, we are bound to affirm that whatever activity undertaken by the missionary in the interests of the people among whom he works, or in order to give him a claim on their attention is nothing more or less than a modern analogy of the wonder-working power that was conceded to God's servants in those epochs of sacred history when Judaism and Christianity had to make good their claim to be from God. The claims of Judaism were vindicated against the pagan cults of Osiris and Baal by a hecatomb of first-borns and the dropping of celestial fire, while the claims of Christianity were vindicated against those of Jewish formalism by the acts of One of Whom it was said, 'He was mighty in deed and in word.' If the Biblical miracles were essentially signs that pointed to the Divinity of the message of those who performed them, God's servants of today to whom He gives no wonder-working power must find for themselves the means of arresting the interest and attention of those they desire to evangelize. When once they have established their right to speak, then let them speak and not keep silent.

"Starting from the principle that a missionary has to establish his right to be heard, I believe that the time is ripe for evangelisation on a higher plane than has yet been attempted. It is clear to me that the time is ripe for a spiritual apostleship. Men especially gifted and prepared, who can show themselves conversant with

and sympathetic towards, the new currents of thought, will receive an attentive hearing wherever they go, and by the most serious minds. The South American likes the '*conferencia*' and will listen seriously to any man who not only knows what other people are thinking, but who himself has something definite to say. Such a man's message must be essential Cristocentric, so that when the golden cloud of his eloquence has faded away, his audience will, like the disciples on the Holy Mount, see none but 'Jesus only.' Such an apostleship could be carried on without the evangelist himself being associated with any definite organization, or being immediately interested in any work of organizing. It will be his to show that Christ is worth being interested in for His own sake and humanity's and not simply for the sake of relating oneself to this or that phase of historical Christianity. As the experience of the new convert grows and deepens he will feel his need for association with other kindred spirits and for organizing himself and them into a group for worship, and the propagation of the Faith that saved him. We can trust, I think, the living Spirit of God to determine the exact form of ecclesiastical organization that will be best for Spanish-American converts when God visits the continent 'with power from on high.' In other words let us at the present critical moment make more of Christ and less of denominationalism."

"We are ten thousand miles away from these people," said another worker recently when we were discussing the problem of evangelism. That remark will stay with me as long as another of the same sort, made by a very conservative missionary on an earlier trip to South America: "We might as well expect to convert these people to Mohammedanism as to the program which we Protestants are now presenting to them." Yet this program can be both popular and definitely religious. There is no reason for "soft-pedaling" on religion in a school or social center, at a hospital or in a public "*conferencia.*" South Americans are much more accustomed to talk on religious topics than are North Americans. I have been before many a gathering where there was much hostility to one or both forms of organized Christianity, but never have found opposition to a frank and tactful declaration that I believed in God and was convinced that direct and intimate contact with Him was necessary for a man's or a nation's highest development. Along these lines one may present his profoundest convictions, and his audiences will continue to grow in interest and

in culture. Many will never, as far as one can tell, do more than listen. (Though if one should later overhear their remaks to a friend at the club or on the plaza, he might be greatly surprised at their commendations.) Some will come privately, as did Nicodemus to ask about one's own religious life. Then comes the opportunity to explain a belief in the organization to which you belong and what it offers in comradeship in the worship of God and the service of men. Most of these will go away sorrowing and do nothing more than speak a good word for your cause, when some Sanhedrin is trying to condemn you to ecclesiastical death. But there will also be those like "Dionysios, the Areopagite, a woman called Damaris, and some others."

Excellent results will be achieved in any hospital, community center, school or social program where people are invited to come for the service itself, which is rendered as a part of character building. Enemies of the Evangelical Church represent it as a foreign organization come to "propagate" a religion the purpose of which is to destroy the older religion and customs of the people and win their allegiance to foreign ideas. And many missionaries, afraid that they will not be "true to their colors" allow themselves to be driven into that false position. It is false to say that missionaries are in South America to work against Roman Catholicism and the national aspirations of the people. If that is what opponents mean by propaganda, then they are not sent out for that purpose. The missionary goes to South America to help the people to live better, purer lives, more useful to their day and generation. He believes that to live such a life one needs to recognize God and obey His word. This is the missionary's message. When it comes to organization, he believes there are different ones, all with good points. He belongs to one of these, for he believes that through it he gets most help in worshipping God and serving men. He does not claim perfection for this organization, since it is made up of imperfect people. But he loves it and believes he will be rendering a wonderful service to another by introducing him to that organization. I have yet to find a Latin American who is not interested in a position of that kind, although he may not always adopt it.

Even among missionaries there are differences of opinion as to whether one should always urge people to join an evangelical church or whether at times it is well to advise them to remain in the Catholic Church and to become the best kind of a Christian

there. Of course most missionaries feel an obligation to give the advice, if not to exert real pressure, to join the evangelical ranks. Not a few, however, are coming to believe that it is eminently worth while to bring people to a realization of their personal relations and responsibilities to God, and to leave them to make their own decisions concerning the church through which they will show their loyalty.

Latin America hungers for the message of Christ. It does not like the purely Anglo-Saxon method of presenting that message, nor does it care for an emphasis on dogma. Said a very fine Chilean gentleman recently, when explaining his unwillingness to join a Protestant church, "I will do anything for Christ, but nothing for controversy." With only a preaching program evangelical forces may be in cities like Buenos Aires, Havana, Lima and Santiago the whole twentieth century and still the people will be largely ignorant of their presence or indifferent to it.

Latin America needs a religion which will help each individual to solve his problems. A professor in the Normal School in Peru said: "The kind of religion we would accept would be one that emphasized beauty, love and service—one that takes you away from fear. I left the Catholic Church because they were always talking about the *'infierno.'* May be it will be as horrible as they say, but I propose to have at least a little respite from it. We want something encouraging, not an everlasting threat. Teach us a religion that exalts life and service and we will accept it." There is needed likewise a religion that will help to solve the problems of each nation. In discussing with a thoughtful Chilean the question of a probable uprising of the common people of that country against the privileged classes, he said that the only hope he saw of preventing it, was the starting by the Protestant Churches of a movement of sufficient strength to bring about the necessary reforms through education. Enlightenment and unselfishness is the only hope for the solution of the industrial, economic, moral, social and political problems that multiply so rapidly in these countries. With the mistakes of Anglo-Saxon countries as a guide, the new industrialism might prevent the exploitation of women and children or the clashing of labor and capital; and to encourage the development of proper philanthropic organizations, of eleemosynary institutions, of recreative facilities for the young and of an educational system that will put morality first. But

Protestantism at present is far from meeting these needs, or even planning for it.

It would seem that evangelical missionaries in Latin America have three distinctive services to render. One is the building up of an evangelical church which shall furnish a spiritual home and a working organization through which its membership shall do its part in serving God and humanity. Another is the cleansing of the Roman Catholic Church from the error and superstition which clogs its Christian service. The third is the uplift of whole communities to where everyone has a chance to be physically, morally and spiritually at his best. Which of these services is most important, who can say? They are more or less interlocked in development.

No one knows what will be the final form of religion in South America. Some Protestant missionaries look forward to the time when the continent will become evangelical in its religious organization. Others expect that a majority will always be Roman Catholic, but that they will follow a transformed Catholicism. Whether both shall grow toward the perfect unity for which Christ prayed, until their peculiarities are merged in a perfect Church that will cause the world to believe that "Thou hast sent Me"—this is not given for this generation to know. But practically, anyone who is contributing to the accomplishment of any of these three services may feel that he is working to bring about the Kingdom of God on earth. Workers, like members of the body, will do the particular service for which they are best prepared. But let the mouth that speaks say not to the hand that ministers or writes, or to the foot that carries the humble colporteur over the mountains, "because thou are not the mouth, thou art not the body." And just as important is it that these members say not to the mouth, "because thou art not a ministering member, thou art not of the body." For all are members of the same body, Christ being the head.

In preparing these notes for publication it occurs to me that this final section may strike some readers as a wholesale condemnation of both the methods employed and the results already to the credit of Evangelical Christianity in Latin America. Perhaps criticisms have not always been qualified with sufficient commendation of that work and of the faithful men and women who have carried it into effect. I hope these workers will in no case feel aggrieved. I know their work, their sacrifices, their achieve-

ments. If strictures are implied they are not upon persons, but upon a system, for it has been written by a missionary who has given many years of his life to work through the ordinary methods now in use. If there has been brief mention of missionary stations and organizations it is because in 1917 a full statement of these under the title of "Christian Co-operation in Latin America," was published and can be readily obtained. These observations imply that sympathetic missionary background with which the writer is in heartiest accord. They merely emphasize the necessity of cultivating personal relationships until at least the loyalty of some community leaders has been won to the truth and they have become interested in building up a religious organization, having a voice in its direction, so that it may seem normal and attractive. They also affirm that the only kind of Christianity that will stir vision and sacrifice and prophetic fervor in these dry bones is a Christianity whose spiritual power is shown by its outward service to men in need, rather than by a mere adherence to doctrine. They aim as well to convey the idea that Protestant forces should co-operate with all forces that are honestly and openly working for the uplift of the people. Evangelicals gain nothing by being militant against Romanism. Though, of course, they cannot be expected to remain silent before any reactionary forces that endeavor to control the state and the public mind.

Many of the facts set down here are deeply regrettable. It is regrettable that many Latin Americans do not regard religion as a help; that the Roman Catholic Church in South America is more active in political schemes than in spiritual service; that the Anglo-Saxon ways are not acceptable to Latins; that many refuse to take for granted the good points of our religion that we feel sure are there. But certainly we gain nothing by ignoring these facts. Indeed it would seem that we need nothing more in the development of a constructive spiritual movement in South America than a frank reckoning with the facts and forces that are now predominant. This will be, no doubt, one of the important parts of the program of the Conference of Christian Workers proposed for 1923 in the city of Montevideo. These wonderful new republics of the Southland seem profoundly stirred by aspirations for a new and noble life. May it become indeed the more Abundant Life.

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